

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIALISM.

By
ROHIT MEHTA.
With a Foreword by
Mr. N. Sri Ram.

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Most Respectfully Dedicated

to

That Magnificent Leader who created men,
not mere movements;

That Wise Teacher who loved all for she
understood all;

That Sublime Inspirer who fanned in all
the spark of genius;

That Far-sighted Statesman who strove to
bring the future into the present;

That Tenderest Friend who nourished
the weak and the ailing;

That Dauntless Warrior who challenged
everything in the service of Truth,

That Wonderful Pioneer who suffered much
to make others happy;

**THE GREAT THEOSOPHICAL
SOCIALIST,**

Dr. ANNIE BESANT.

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Preface.

In the world around us, one finds an ever-increasing number of people rallying round the banner of Socialism with a view to enter upon a new world of peace and prosperity. Problems, economic, political and social have become so acute that all dreamers and idealists, all thinkers and social reformers have come to the conclusion that this world of ours needs a fundamental change. Every idealist, every thinker is suggesting his, or her own scheme of reconstruction born out of a particular philosophy of life. Modern Scientific Socialism is one of the most popular schemes of world-reconstruction discussed and propagated today. But in a zeal to refashion this unhappy world, one is apt, too often, to forget that world-reconstruction is not a mechanical process, that every scheme of reconstruction ought inevitably to be guided both by an individual philosophy of life and a social philosophy of reconstruction. It is primarily in order to emphasise this that the present book

is written. Some of my readers might ask: "Yes, but where is the necessity of bringing in Theosophy while discussing the problem of reconstruction?" It seems to me that this question arises very largely because of the grossest ignorance that prevails among even intellectuals about Theosophy and its tenets. And this ignorance is mainly born out of some prejudices against some acts or beliefs of particular Theosophists or rather members of the Theosophical Society; for very few of the critics of Theosophy ever care to acquaint themselves with the truths of Theosophy as given in its most enlightening literature. Thus their judgments about Theosophy, being not based on first-hand experience and knowledge of Theosophy, are absolutely irrational. This unscientific attitude on the part of our intellectuals is really very deplorable for when people shut their minds against the truths proclaimed by others, a state of intellectual stagnation begins and surely that state is highly dangerous to the well-being of any society. Theosophy has a distinct philosophy of its own, a philosophy that inspires not only individuals to lofty idealism

but a philosophy that offers an unfailing guidance to all those who strive at the re-fashioning of this world. Theosophy does not teach a way of individual escape out of the sorrows and sufferings of this world, nay it teaches on the contrary, a way of service, a way of self-less service to humanity. To be a Theosophist is not be craving after individual salvation, nay not to be caring for it at all. To be a Theosophist is to be a worker, a servant of humanity. 'I will not have final peace till my brothers share it; I will not have final liberty that is not shared by my fellow-men.'—that is the ideal placed before all Theosophists. It is this philosophy that has inspired me to write this book and I hope those who have not shut their minds against other presentations of truths will find some material to think about in the following pages. If that something worth-considering leads even one to the sublime truths of Theosophy, I shall consider my labours more than sufficiently rewarded.

In sending forth this book into the world, I owe a word of explanation to my Theosophical comrades. Some of them might wonder

at the word "Theosophical Socialism." In selecting the title of this book many other names had suggested to me like Mauu-ism, Socialism-a New Interpretation, Socialism in the light of Theosophy etc. But out of all these and many others I selected this name because it alone expresses the idea of true Socialism most correctly. For Theosophical Socialism means a Socialism that is inspired by the exquisite philosophy of Theosophy. I believe what the world needs is not a new interpretation of Socialism, we have too many of them in the world, what humanity needs is a Socialism permeated by Theosophy and its lofty idealism. It is because of this that I have named the book thus in spite of the fact that it might create some misunderstandings in the minds of my readers, both Theosophical and non-Theosophical. By using this word, I must say at the outset. I am neither committing the Theosophical Society nor individual members. Nor am I putting a limit to Theosophy, Theosophy is such a vast thing that no individual, however great, can claim to possess complete knowledge of its truths. I do not maintain that the principles enunciated in this book form the full presentation of

Theosophy. I present in these pages only a few facets of my Theosophy, Theosophy as I have understood through my studies. It is possible some Theosophists might differ from me, for each man must have his own approach to Theosophy. While putting forward my Theosophy I have greatest respect for the individual Theosophies of my other comrades. I believe that one of the most important tasks of the Theosophical Society is to usher in a new civilisation in this world and to prepare human beings above all else ideologically for that dispensation. The new civilisation, it seems to me, will be based on the principles of Theosophical Socialism. While the world is suffering, while the world is passing through acute crisis in all the departments of human life, it is necessary that all idealists should lay before humanity a picture of the future as they conceive it and the ideals that are necessary for the realisation of the same. Every Theosophist is an idealist soaring into the highest heavens and at the same time firmly fixed on the earth, trying with all his abilities to bring the future into the present. As one of this great Theosophical fraternity, I

place before my readers certain principles of social reconstruction which I consider absolutely essential if humanity is to reach a higher stage of development.

In writing this book I have been greatly helped by the books of my Theosophical leaders, Dr. Annie Besant, Prof. J. E. Marcault, Dr. Bhagvandas, Mr. C. Jinarajadasa and Dr. Arundale and other non-Theosophical writers like G. D. H. Cole, H. N. Brailsford, Prof. Laski, Prof. Joad, Bertrand Russell and others. What I have done is simply to work out in some details the great Truths which these Theosophical leaders have given from time to time. I am indeed grateful to them for what I have been able to write in these pages. If the reader finds anything worth-considering in these pages, it is theirs, not mine. I have only tried to be a small channel of the great life-giving ideals they have proclaimed and I only hope I have not made these waters dirty by becoming a channel.

I must thank Mr. N. Sri Ram for having written a Foreword to this book. Indeed I

consider it a great honour for Mr. Sri Ram was for many years connected very intimately with Dr. Annie Besant in all her political, social and Theosophical activities. He has known Dr. Besant as very few Theosophists have known her. And so his Foreword links this book with Dr. Besant, one who all through her strenuous life stood for fundamental changes in society through open-eyed wisdom instead of through revolutionary madness. The purpose of this book is to emphasise this very point—a wise change from above before a destructive madness shatters our civilisation from below. Mr. Sri Ram inspite of his multifarious activities consented to write this Foreword, thus adding considerably to the worth of this book.

I have also to thank a large number of my friends who have helped me in the publication of this book. My especial thanks are due to Bro. Bhupatray Mehta, my most esteemed friend or rather my teacher in Theosophy, but for whose assistance I could never have ventured to write this book, and more particularly the Second Section of this book. He very kindly

I have to thank also the Proprietor and the workers of the Sharda Prasanna Printing Press for having done this work in the very short time that was at my disposal.

And in the end, I must thank my wife, Mrs. Rama Mehta, for having assisted me in ways which I ought not to reveal to the public at large, for they are too sacred !

Parsee Agiari Lane,
Ahmedabad,
1st. December 1936. }

Rohit Mehta.

Foreword.

Socialism is very much in the air in India to-day, in other countries of the world it has become more than that—a live issue. But it remains everywhere except in Russia, where it has been forged into an iron system, an elastic sentiment expressed in a variety of slogans and catch-words, borrowing strength from natural greed of the have-nots to dispossess the deeply entrenched haves. If socialism is to come through rational evolution by intelligence and not through the blind play of passions, there must be some who probe into its inner value and seek to understand the desirable change in relation to all the factors present, external and psychological. Mr. Rohit Mehta seeks to do this. The Second Section of his work on Racial Evolution is an elaboration, with illustrations from modern historical facts, of Prof. Marcault's attempt to trace in the characteristics of the various known races and nationalities the unfoldment of the innate psychological principles of man; it por-

trays clearly the necessity of a deeper understanding of social changes than as a result merely of environmental or economic forces.

Mr. Rohit Mehta's enunciation of Theosophical Socialism is based on his own individual understanding of Theosophy and of the social problem in its light. For Theosophy is, like Science, evolutionary, and also capable of divergent approaches and understandings, not a stereotyped system. Subject to this warning, it may be admitted that the principles which Mr. Rohit Mehta lays down and his method of social change will be accepted by many Theosophical students as being in accord with their own Theosophical conclusions or notions.

Each race has its own genius, its distinctive point of view; and unless the question of the next step in its advance is approached as a flowering of this genius, a fulfilment of its highest possibilities from this point of view, any so-called advance that may be projected is bound to be largely sterile, because lifeless, and self-defeating. History is not meant to be and can never be a futile mechanical repetition.

I should like to add that Mr. Rohit Mehta's constitutionalism and appreciation of gradualism

are not expressions of lethargy, the spirit of postponement of a change which spells disturbance to our comfort, of a lack of conviction of the urgency of radical reform. His own record as a young Congressman in Gujarat and proved willingness to court the penalty for the expression of his convictions belies any such facile assumption. While life includes moments of dramatic culmination and revelations-- the surprises of the suddenness-- the constant process of life, its constructive work, is always continuous, however rapid; and gradualism means no more than continuity and the security of continuous progress. In the case of Socialism, this implies establishment in social thinking even more than in changed social structure, and not mere compromise with outworn institutions from the past.

The reason why Mr. Rohit Mehta asks me to write this foreword is probably because I had the great honour of being for some years Private Secretary to Dr. Annie Besant and one of her immediate co-workers in the fields of political and social action. She was a Socialist but far-sighted, and with an understanding of

life's deeper purposes which no change that does not subserve them can long withstand. Hers was the Socialism of Love and not of Hate. Love is always the great Constructor, and that which is not based on love must sooner or later be destroyed.

The reader will find that Mr. Rohit Mehta has accomplished his task in a manner which impresses one with his wide acquaintance with the attempts so far made in Socialistic thinking and efforts and with his earnestness to clarify those underlying principles which alone ensure stability and the production of maximum happiness for all. Such stability and happiness must imply the treatment of society as a unity in diversity,—unity of organism in diversity of functions,—hence order and full opportunity for true individual expression and fulfilment—that is freedom.

The present is obviously a psychological time for the emergence of this work. There will be many, I am sure, among its readers who will wish to regard it as a vigorous lead towards practical action along the lines recommended by its talented author.

N. Sri Ram.

Chapter I.

The Necessity for Social Change.

“ I do desire to suggest to you that a profound economic change is absolutely necessary, that unless that change is brought about the civilisation cannot last, nor ought it to last with the canker of poverty eating out the very life of great masses of our people.”*

Annie Besant.

It is a world of great paradoxes and of huge contradictions in which we are living to-day. It is a wonder whether humanity was ever faced in its long history with such great and baffling problems as those that exist in modern society. These problems are so vast that the best intellects of our age have stood perplexed before their might. Existence of these problems is not an isolated phenomena in this country or that. Every country in the world, every class of humanity is gravely affected by these problems. It is a world phenomena, not an exclusive happ-

* World Problems of To-day—Dr Annie Besant.

ening either in the east or in the west. It seems the whole world is entangled in some powerful whirlpool, and every attempt to save a particular victim results in dragging others into its dreadful currents. Politicians and statesmen, economists and financiers, social reformers and revolutionaries, philosophers and scientists—all stand aghast at the frightful spectacle of humanity hurling itself into ruin. The whole humanity is, as it were, standing on a precipice and a single jerk would send it down into a deep valley. The entire world is, as it were, sitting on a volcano and a single eruption would shatter it to pieces. These problems do not belong to any single field of human activity, they cover all the departments of human interests. There are destitution, despair and doubt reigning supreme in the material, emotional and mental fields of human activities. The poorer classes are suffering from material destitution, making their lives almost inhuman and forcing them to live in hovels instead of houses, to live on material starvation instead of physical satisfaction, to live not only as physical wrecks but also as spiritual cripples. The lot of the middle classes is in no way

satisfactory. They are living in utter despair, for they find in the modern world all their sentiments crushed, their aspirations killed and their ideals thrown over-board. And when we turn towards the giant intellects of all lands, even there we find them engrossed in doubts, steeped in cynicism, entirely pessimistic about the future of humanity. The whole sky is overcast with these frightful clouds, threatening rains, that would deluge the whole humanity and sweep it clean of all living things. It seems the flow of life is stagnating somewhere, the blood has ceased to circulate and so severe is the social malady that humanity will die ere long, if nothing miraculous happens, if no herculean effort is made to save the patient at the last hour. It was poet Shelley who said that the masses are dying while we speak. It is true even today, for the whole humanity is marching towards ruin while we are sitting like Micawbers in the hope of something good turning up. It is impossible to wait any longer, for if we do not deal with these problems, these problems will assuredly deal with us.

Since long ages, man has incessantly tried to prove his supremacy over nature and its

forces. These forces of nature have ever been a challenge to man's power and might. This desire to overcome nature was first born when man as a savage stood before natural phenomena and felt overawed before their marvellous and mysterious working. He tried to pacify them through worship and religion, through rites and dedications, but these forces had remained so long beyond the control of man. It is in this age of science that we find man, for the first time in humanity's long history, declaring himself the master of nature. He is no longer at the mercy of nature's whims, he is no longer under her bondage. And it is not pure science that has released him from this bondage. It is applied science that has given him this power—the power to make nature obey the might of science. The world is not suffering to-day from nature's defiance, nor from its inability to produce enough for the nourishment of humanity. The world suffers because nature is producing far too abundantly, so much so, that humanity stands staggered at its phenomenal bounty. The world is poor today not because of scarcity, it is poor because there is abundance, there is plenty,

there is overproduction. Humanity suffers not, due to nature's scarcity but due to man's inability to adjust to the new conditions created by science. The principle of Malthus has failed to explain the causes of world misery, for it is not overpopulation that is the problem with us, it is overproduction that baffles humanity. Such is indeed the social anomaly. People are afraid of too much production. Even science is perplexed before what it has created and thinks of reverting to the age that has passed. Politicians are talking today of controlling the unregulated march of science. People are suggesting that production of the world should be cut down considerably so as to adjust it with the low consumption power of the people. This civilised world is thinking of refusing nature's bounty, to obtain which man struggled and sacrificed for ages. And this madness has so overtaken us, that we find producers and those controlling economic life of nations actually engaged in destroying what nature has produced. While millions shiver and starve, these captains of industry are destroying year after year cotton, coffee and wheat. Governments are found giving subsidies

to their citizens—their farmers—for reducing the production of cotton and wheat. Year after year, we see financiers and industrialists of the world meeting in conferences, not to plan for distributing the produced and the manufactured goods, but strangely enough to restrict, to cut down, world-production by mutual agreement. Neville Chamberlain, the Chancellor of Exchequer of the British Government said in the House of Commons on June, 2, 1933, "To allow production to go on unchecked and unregulated in the modern conditions, when it could almost at a moment's notice be increased to an almost indefinite extent was absolute folly." Incredible though it may appear, to restrict production while millions are dying of hunger, is not regarded an absurdity in this modern civilised world, on the contrary it is practical sense. And so, we find the economic world faced with depressions caused by overproduction. So much have our industrialists lost their heads that they are closing down factories and workshops in order to come out of depression. But unfortunately economic laws are no respecters of the whims of industrialists, for these ways to get out of depression are depressing the world

more and more. Closing down of factories means less employment and less employment means reduction in purchasing power and this in turn must mean depressing the markets. The way of ending depression is sought in depressing the market! Our politicians too are following queer politics. When stores and godowns are glutted with goods they are indulging in the race of raising tariff wars, the wars that are daily threatening the world with dangerous consequences. For, a tariff war is bound sooner or later, to result in national wars for the possession of colonies and raw materials. This is the situation in which our world finds itself. Poverty, unemployment, tariff and national wars, strong governments to deal with extraordinary times, dictatorships, suppression of individual freedom and civic liberties, militarisation at the expense of nation building activities, colonial exploitation—these are our economic and political problems. Ours is a civilisation of exploitation and waste. Stronger nations exploiting the weaker ones is what one sadly finds in this world of civilised beings. We are, it seems, following the law of brutes in our affairs with human beings. Killing of one individual within a nation is

regarded as murder, killing of hundreds of human
beings in war is considered patriotism and is best-
owed with high honours—such is our social
morality. A poverty-stricken hungry, individual
stealing a loaf of bread is regarded theft, while
big financiers and capitalists destroying tons and
tons of foodstuffs is considered service to the
nation, such are our standards of judging human
conducts. What greater anti-social act can ever
 be imagined than the destruction and waste of
 grains and goods, for the lack of which millions
 are starving and shivering? What greater crime
 against society can be imagined than the dragg-
 ing of hundreds and thousands of people—young
 men to war for the satisfaction of gaining
 personal profits through the possession of
 lands and mines? What greater cruelty can
 ever be perpetrated than the closing of factories
 against hungry men and women only because
 markets have glutted and profits have reduced ?
 Ours is a mad world, where intellects have been
 prostituted and used for the exploitation of the
 ignorant, a world where science is abused
 and made use of for destruction of all
 that is beautiful and noble in our civilisation.

There is something fundamentally wrong with our world. Carman Haider, in "Shall America go Fascist ? " very graphically draws the picture of our world as it is to-day:

" Too much wheat, corn, hogs, beef and yet starvation; over-production and under-consumption. Men living in slums and the lumber industry in depression unable to find new outlets for the use of wood, architects out of work. Boys on the road and the teachers unemployed. A waste of goods, a waste of energies, a waste of brains, a waste of human life."*

Why does the world suffer if it has all the means of happiness within its grasp? If we have abundance of goods why should the world be poor? Why is not the wheat lying in store-rooms distributed to the hungry millions? Why is cotton destroyed instead of used for the protection of shivering men and women? If millions are unemployed, if factories are lying idle, why are not these unemployed put to work in the same idle factories? Why cannot idle factories, idle capital and idle men be brought together if

Shall America Go Fascist ? ' "

—Carman Haider.

depression has overtaken us? Henry Brailsford says: "Capital lies idle in incredible hoards, labour cries out for employment and the power to turn the engines is available." And yet why does this not happen? This is the question that must arise in all minds, for this is the problem of our age. It is true that we have won our mastery over nature. And yet it is also true that this mastery has come to us before we have become ethically fit for the reception of this power. We have obtained power, but we have yet to acquire a spirit of social obligation. Our problem is not the problem of production but of distribution, and not science but better social organisation must solve it. The problem of production required individualism for its solution because it needed ability to risk and adventure. The problem of distribution needs, not unrestricted individualism but, a sense of social responsibility. Our problems have arisen because we have failed to evolve a social organisation consistent with the discoveries of science and the release of power they have done. There is a great disharmony in our social organisation. For while there is social production on one side

there is individual appropriation on the other. There is disharmony between personal profit and social happiness. Dr. G. S. Arundale, the President of the Theosophical Society, explains the problem of our age in but two short sentences. He says:

"Much of the depression is the result of a concentration on the individual self at the expense of the collective self. They grow together or not at all." *

But if the problems are vast, it does not mean that they are impossible of solution. Nor is it necessary to attempt their solution with a cynical attitude. No doubt, the problems are difficult, no doubt, the darkness is too dense, but let us realise that this darkness is the one before the dawn. The dawn of a new world is over us. Our problems have become huge only because we are living in times when there is a clash going on between two civilisations. The present civilisation is dying, the new civilisation is still in the womb. It is the period of transition in which we are living. And the periods of transition are always difficult. There are people

* 'You'—Dr. G. S. Arundale.

who refuse to go forward. They do not visualise the coming dawn. They want to put the clock back to whence it has come. They are afraid of science and machinery, they dread leisure and freedom from physical toil that would come through these two agencies. They put up the cries of scrapping machinery and of the dignity of physical labour. But invariably is the case, that behind this dignity of labour is the dread of leisure, for they regard men as sinful, and hence if freed from physical toil would indulge in all sorts of sinful activities. And so, their solution of our problems is reverting to the good old days when everybody was happy. But they forget that what was happiness some centuries before can never be happiness to-day, for humanity is progressing and in its progress releases greater and greater powers of its consciousness. Progress of humanity means releasing human beings from physical toil and leading them to higher and finer fields of activity. It is the function of science to enable men and women to rise to these heights. It is the purpose of machinery to free human beings from physical toil. The problem of our age is, that this freeing of human beings from physical

labour is accompanied by material unhappiness and starvation. When leisure is possible, we give unemployment. But that does not mean that machinery is wrong and that science is useless. It means that unrestricted use of machinery by individuals for their private use is bad, it means that abuse of science is dangerous. And so our cry ought not to be, a scrapping of machinery but a better use of it. Our demand ought not to be, restricting science but a harnessing of it to social welfare. Let us not get panicky and cynical because so many problems are facing us. Let us not keep our eyes to the days of old. Let us look forward and see the light of the dawn. Instead of proposing to lead the world back, let us carry it onwards to heights more glorious than the most glorious heights of the past. Let us remember, that if problems are great, man is greater still. It is with this sense of robust optimism that we must march on, all the time realising that man is not sinful but really divine and is ever eager to call out all the inner beauties he possesses, if only we would give social facilities for such a happening. Let there be no sense of despair, no sense of hopelessness

for "what man has marred man can mend."

There are quite a number of people who in the midst of these problems get intensely impatient. They immediately rush to radical solutions and in their mad frenzy destroy even that which is useful to humanity. It is true that misery and suffering around us are so acute that it is impossible to wait any longer. But it is easy to revolt, it is far more difficult to build and construct a new civilisation. The world has too many revolutionaries, it needs today constructive genius. For civilisations are not built in the twinkling of an eye; it is a long-drawn out process. Those who indulge in revolutions might be quite sincere and honest, but that is not all that the humanity needs today. To hope to build a society through revolution is to misjudge social factors. If the method of reaction and of going back in civilisation are born of despair and misconception of man, the method of revolution is equally so. It is a method of desperation. It is enthusiasm guided by wisdom that we need today. A clarity of thought, a definite conception of where we are taking humanity, a thorough understanding of the laws of human evolution, a

scientific clearness of what the future order of society shall be—it is all these that are needed if the world has to be saved from its present deplorable condition.

And so even while the world is dark, the signs of the new dawn are on the horizon. The solution of our problems lies in understanding these signs of the times and adjusting our social organisation in accordance with them. In this world when cut-throat competitions are going on, there are social reformers who have been advocating co—operation in production and distribution of goods. While people are rushing at each other's throats, there are idealists and dreamers forging public opinion for world—peace. When humanity is torn asunder by class and colour, by religion and nationality, there are workers in all lands trying to establish Human—Brotherhood in this world. While the old world is dying, a new consciousness has overtaken humanity and slowly larger and larger number of people are coming under its influence. It is through the recognition of these signs and working for their effective emergence that we shall come nearer to the solutions of

these problems. It is true that the world cannot wait, that suffering masses cannot patiently bear their turmoils. It is for those who understand these signs, to start working for the dawn of a new Era of Peace and Happiness. The tides of revolution and destruction will never be stemmed by repression and threats of violence. They can be stopped only when intelligent men and women work for the inauguration of the new civilisation. Let us beware of underestimating the miseries of the people. We know what the French Queen said when told that the masses of France were rising because they had no bread. She remarked, "If they have no bread, why do they not eat cakes?" Let not the intelligent classes of to-day commit the same mistake through their indifference to the miseries of the people. The masses have always been led to revolt because those who understand and those who are wise have failed to discharge their duties. It is because they have remained unmoved at the cries of their suffering brethren. Let us not forget that masses rise in revolutions when they realise that 'the sufferings of revolution are less than the sufferings of submissn.' If we lead

the poor masses to this point of desperation, the fault will be ours if our civilisation is perished in the fire of destruction.

The world needs a re-adjustment, a fresh balancing, a new equilibrium. The days of unrestricted individualism, of ruthless competitions, of ceaseless waste and destruction, of national and international wars, of political, tyrannies and party dictatorships must end. The world must march on to a new civilisation based on planned production, on humanitarian distribution, on mutual co-operation, on international fellowship, on the service of the weak, on the sacrifice of the wise and on the principle of Brotherhood. The world must adopt the cry of Socialism for; socialism true and wise is the solution of our many political, social and economic problems. It is through Socialism that humanity will rise to a higher level of advancement. It is through socialism that men and women will realise social and economic happiness. Dr. Besant says: "I believe that the next great stage of civilisation will be Socialistic, that in the centuries that lie before us, there will be realised many of the economic conditions, that the socialists of to-day demand."

What this Socialism will be, what will be its guiding principles, how will it be contrasted with modern socialistic theories will be discussed in the following pages. Only one purpose runs behind these discussions; to rivet the attention of those who are intellectuals, those who are idealists and dreamers, those who are social reformers upon the necessity of working for these social changes which have become inevitable in this sorrow-stricken world and thus stem the oncoming floods of revolution that threaten to devour the whole civilisation. Brotherhood is the weapon with which to fight both revolution and reaction. Brotherhood is the key that must open the doors of human happiness. The following pages are but a plea to introduce Socialism through open-eyed wisdom before it emerges from mass fury. Socialism is the word of the future, let all who understand, heed it and work for its realisation.

Chapter II.

Scientific Socialism: Its Fundamental Errors.

"Just as every Socialist declares that politics alone are utterly insufficient to make a happy and prosperous nation, just as he truly says that economics must be rightly understood and rightly applied, and that without that an understanding and application of political reforms must fail and crumble.....so I believe that economics alone are not enough to make a nation prosperous and free. Important as economics may be and are, behind economics lie men and women, and unless these men and women are trained into a noble humanity, economic schemes will fail as hopelessly as any political scheme can possibly do. While it is true that the politician is building a house without foundation, while it is true Socialists are trying to make that foundation, still the foundation must be of good materials or a rotten foundation will be as unfortunate to the house as no foundation at all. " *

—Annie Besant.

* 'Future of Socialism'—Dr. Besant.

History of the world is indeed very largely portrayed in the biographies of its great men and women. This truth is as much applicable to the histories of world movements as to individual nations. It is not surprising that nationalism finds its ceaseless inspiration in the lives of national heroes, for the latter are personifications of what the national masses are hankering after. Every nation looks to its leaders in times of crisis, for it sees in its leaders the promise of its glorious future. A nation is held together to a very large extent because of the devotion to its past and present heroes. A nation is inspired to great deeds mostly because of its glorious past. But if a nation is a geographical unity, a movement is an ideological unity. If a nation has its heroes, so has a movement. If a nation derives its inspiration from the past, a movement draws its strength from the future, which it hopes to build. A movement is held together either by emotional ties or by theoretical affinities or in a few cases by ideological loyalties. In the modern world, which regards mind as the most powerful instrument of cognition, most of our movements continue and flourish



by their theoretical affinities. The exponent of these theories invariably becomes the hero of such movements.

Such is, indeed, the case with the Socialist movement of the world. Socialism is verily a world-movement in our times, for it has crossed over national frontiers and political divisions. It is an international movement, held together by the theories given to it by a man who has influenced modern political and economic thought to the extent to which very few single individuals have done in the history of humanity. Karl Marx is a name to be conjured with, not only in Socialist circles but among all those who are striving at the refashioning of this world. He is the hero of the Socialist movement and intense loyalty to him and to the theories he proclaimed is surging beneath revolutionary movements in many a nation of the world. Paradoxical as it may seem, Marx has become the God of the anti-God communist.

What are the theories given by this great radical thinker, the very utterance of whose

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name shakes mighty empires and vested interests throughout the world? Why is it that social reformers and large masses in every nation of the world are intensely fascinated by the doctrines of Karl Marx? Why is it that people are rallying round the banner of Scientific Socialism in various countries of the world? Before we consider the salient features of Scientific Socialism, let us first understand the causes that gave birth to this revolutionary movement. It is only in this background that we can envisage the true worth of the principles of Scientific Socialism.

All students of history know that the birth of socialism has coincided with the rise of Capitalism and mechanised production of goods. It is not incorrect to say that Industrial Revolution has sown the seeds of socialist revolution in all the countries of the world. Pre-capitalist economic order, as we all know, was characterised by handi-crafts as the chief mode of production. Men and women in their homes and guilds carried on economic activities, and thus supplied the needs, both of villages and rising cities.

With the introduction of machinery and its necessary con-comitant capitalism, these handi-crafts were destroyed, or rather starved out, displacing a large number of people from their family occupations. This onrush of Capitalism resulted in two diametrically opposed movements. On the one hand, this displacement resulted in large number of people falling back on land, as in the case of India under the onrush of a Foreign Capitalism, and worsening the already impoverished condition of masses due to a pressure of population which the land was incapable of absorbing. On the other hand, the rise of Capitalism resulted in drawing people away from villages into cities, as no land was available to them. It is this group of people that formed the working class, the proletariat, of our times. But the condition of this working class was far from satisfactory; it was much worse than the condition of the working class of today. For Capitalism in its blind dash for profits never cared for the comforts of labour. Insanitary conditions of work, unregulated hours of labour, breaking up of homes under the pressure of economic necessity and social changes, absence of political rights, and

factory laws, non-recognition of trade-unions and illegality of collective action of the working class for the improvement of their conditions, employment of child labour and domination by capital of all political and social institutions resulted in very severe discontent among masses with regard to the new economic order inaugurated by the Industrial Revolution. There were violent attempts done by the ignorant working masses to smash machinery, which, according to them, was the sole cause of their misery. Even many of the intellectuals of that age considered machine as the creator of all social ills. Sporadic revolts against machineries were the order of the day. The new class that had risen in economic power due to its ownership of capital, practically moulded the policies of the state, and so military forces of government were always at the beck and call of the capitalists for the protection of their capital and the suppression of mass discontent. Thus hedged in from all sides, suffering under political repression and economic tyranny on the one hand and forced by material necessity on the other, these masses were in a

desperate condition, in a violent mood, ready to strike at their enemies with whatever weapons available. They had become intensely inflammable and a little spark would have caused a big conflagration. But to expect these discontented masses to lead an organised movement was impossible, for such a movement, to keep it going in the midst of oppression and repression of the severest kind, needs a philosophy, a theory based on the analysis of social forces and a tactics capable of foiling the attacks of its enemies. Masses might act but it is impossible to expect them to initiate a line of action needed for the betterment of their conditions.

. Such initiation has always come from the intellectuals. It is they who have formulated theories of social transformation, it is they who have given philosophies of social change, it is they who have provided the necessary tactics for mass action, it is they who have led radical movements. The initiative and leadership of all revolutionary movements have come from the class of intellectuals. And Socialism is no exception to this. Looking at the sad conditions

around him, feeling indignant at the cruel injustice done to a large section of humanity, Karl Marx, a German intellectual of a very high order, out of his studies of politics, history, economics, social sciences and philosophy formulated his theories of mass action which form the very basis of Scientific Socialism. It is these theories of mass action which are known as Scientific Socialism. It is these theories that have served as guiding principles in all attempts at social transformation carried on by Socialists today. The days in which Marx lived were, as we have seen, the days of cruel repression. Even he himself had become a victim of State repression carried on in the interests of the rising economic class. Under the effects of this repression and the surrounding poverty, it was quite natural that he developed a very bitter attitude against the political and economic systems of society in which he lived. It is not quite wrong to say that behind all his theories of social change lies his mental attitude of extreme bitterness against the staggering poverty that he witnessed all around him. On all sides he saw masses crying for more humane treatment. It is

no wonder that the cure of social ills he suggested was a drastic revolution; for a desperate condition generally evokes desperate methods of liquidating the same. It is significant to find that his theories and methods were acceptable to those countries which were groaning under severe state repression, where no civic liberties existed and where large masses of people were suffering under abject poverty. Even today this is the case, for the greatest response to the Marxian methods is given by countries under either colonial exploitation or irresponsible native autocracy. It is also a fact where middle classes have been refused all facilities to participate in the affairs of a government, there these elements have embraced revolutionary tactics out of desperation and with a hope of achieving their own aims. The dangers inherent in revolutionary tactics will be discussed in a later chapter. It is sufficient to note here that Marx was led to proclaim this method very largely due to the desperate condition of masses that lived in his world. And so, looking dispassionately at the theories of Karl Marx, one comes to the conclusion that they have been counsels of despair,

and the main reason for such counsels consists in the objective conditions of the masses and the subjective mood of its illustrious author.

That our unhappy world is standing today at cross-roads cannot be denied. It needs a fundamental change. Capitalism in its onward march and in its mad rush for profits and dividends is crushing the lives of millions. Capitalism itself has reached a stage when its progress within the framework it has created has become well-nigh impossible. Capitalism must either give place to a better order of society or else our civilisation must go down and perish like the civilisations of old. Desperate conditions of masses will lead them to adopt revolutionary and desperate methods and capitalism too will react with its own drastic measures in defence of reaction. Our world needs an overhauling. And Marx suggests his own panacea. Behind this panacea stands a philosophy, a philosophy of despair. One must either accept it or evolve a better philosophy, for the world must ever move on. Bertrand Russell remarks:

"The civilised world has need of fundamental change if it is to be saved from decay--change both in the economic structure and its philosophy of life." *

Most of our social reformers are prepared to concede the first part of the above statement, but they have hardly given a serious thought to the problem of philosophy and its effects on social reconstruction. They have yet to accept the necessity of philosophical clarity and soundness in the task of social transformation. Only out of a correct philosophy can emerge true tactics and methods of social change. Marx and Lenin recognised the need of this philosophical background. It was a firm conviction with Lenin that only with people who are steeped in Marxian philosophy can a socialist party start its operations for a social revolution. A philosophical vacillation, according to him, was very dangerous to the cause of social revolution. He believed, and rightly, that without this philosophical soundness, there would be desertions and betrayals in a socialist party. But very many of the followers of Marx and Lenin have scarcely given

* 'Why Men Fight'—Bertrand Russell.

much consideration to this problem of philosophy. They are so concerned with immediate issues that they have lost sight of the larger problems that affect social reconstruction. It is not wrong to say that many of these followers have been emotionally stirred to action at the sight of physical misery and destitution prevailing in the world. This attitude has so completely overtaken them that they have relegated the important question of philosophy absolutely to the background. It is a common experience of us all that a straw brought too close to the eye creates an optical illusion, due to which even a mountain remains hid behind it. Over-enthusiastic followers of these leaders are smarting under a similar optical illusion due to which fundamental issues connected with socialism have remained concealed under a too impulsive emotionalism. To them a philosophy underlying a scheme of social reconstruction has seemed unimportant from practical points of view. To them quiet reflections on philosophical issues have appeared tantamount to flying away from grim realities. These people have narrowed down the scope of socialism by

regarding it as a simple act of snatching away the property of John to satisfy the needs of James. But this is hardly socialism, it is an ugly distortion of it. Socialism is an order of society, a better, a more intelligent, a juster order of human organisation. And those who profess to be in the vanguard of this task of founding a better order of society must have clear conceptions about its fundamental aspects. A mere emotional exuberance can never last long, nay it will lead all those who indulge in it into dangerous paths, often antagonistic to Socialism. Philosophy is the motive power of every movement aiming at social reconstruction. It was because of this that Marx spent a number of years evolving a philosophical system before proposing a method of social change. It was precisely because of this that Lenin was engaged in philosophical discussions with his comrades and was prepared to break even with the most outstanding of them. We know that he was ready to compromise with them on issues of methods and strategy, but about philosophy he was quite adamant. In his 'What is to be done' he advises his comrades to combine

with other parties with regard to practical programmes but he strongly maintains: "Do not haggle over principles, do not make concessions in theory." Philosophical clarity and theoretical soundness are absolutely essential, not only in understanding the social process but even in actual attempts at social transformation. Only a correct philosophy can generate motive power for social change. And so, in order to understand Marxism one must clearly grasp its philosophical assertions. Every other expression of Marxism is an emanation from this. As Engels puts it: "Without German philosophy, particularly that of Hegel, German Scientific Socialism would never have come into existence." Scientific Socialism without its philosophy would mean a movement without its driving power.

Now what is this Marxian philosophy? We have briefly noted the objective and subjective conditions that supplied the very basis of this philosophy. It is known as the Materialistic Interpretation of History. Marx was pre-eminently interested in humanity and had no concern with metaphysical speculations. Hence his is a

social philosophy—a philosophy that explains history, that analyses social forces, that supplies a motive power for social change. His philosophy is a guide to action, a guide to social transformation. It explains what social change is, how it is to be brought about, what are the driving factors of this change, how does it harmonise with science and how does environment work on the growth of an individual. These are the main questions with which Marxian philosophy is concerned. We shall see briefly in the course of this discussion what are the fundamental errors that lie in each of the answers, Marxian Socialism provides to the above questions.

The first fundamental error of Scientific Socialism consists in its conception of social change. What is this conception? An answer to this question is provided in Marx's theory of the structure of society. There is a particular formula to which Marx reduces all complicated structures and super-structures of society. Marx tells us: "The economic structure of society always furnishes the real basis, starting from which we can alone work out the ultimate explanation of

the whole super-structure of juridical and political institutions as well as of the religious, philosophical and other ideas of a given historical period." So according to this, economics is the very basis of a society. Although Marx takes into consideration other factors that contribute towards the building up of a society, these, according to him, are comparatively immaterial. It is economics that remains the decisive factor. A society is judged by its technology, by its modes of production, by the method with which human beings satisfy their material needs. With accepting economics as the basis of society, all social changes mean changes in the modes of production, changes in economic structure, changes in the relations of human beings with regard to their productive activities. As Engels puts it:

"The final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in man's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought not in the philosophy but in the economics of each particular epoch." *

* 'Socialism: Scientific and Utopian'—Engels.

And so, according to this, every social change predominantly means an economic change. It is no wonder that taking this assertion as the very basis of social change, Scientific Socialists have laid all emphasis on the transformation of the economic structure of society. The social change from Capitalism to Socialism is, according to them, only a change in the economic basis of society. A structural change is their primary concern, for economics is the basis—everything else is a superstructure. Their socialism means, the socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange. The whole idea of the future social order is confined in the framework of economics. It is a question whether the foundation on which they desire to base the whole social structure is sufficiently strong to bear the whole weight of its enormous superstructure.

This idea of social change is derived from the materialistic philosophy of Marx. We shall be discussing later this materialism in relation with modern science, and so scientific correctness or otherwise of materialism is beside the point just now. The question here arises whether in

economics lies the **final cause** of social change, whether economics is the basis of society, whether religion, art, science, philosophy are mere superstructures to be explained away in terms of economics. That economics is one of the causes of social change cannot be denied. It cannot, be gainsaid that in large number of cases economic condition has been an immediate cause of social change, but to contend, that it is the final and the ultimate cause is rather doubtful. Economic condition of the people of France was very bad in the 18th. Century; that it was becoming worse is also true. But this economic misery would not have produced a French Revolution, it might have resulted in sporadic revolts of hungry men and women. But in no case could it have brought about a social change. It was the philosophy of French thinkers, the enormous literature of French writers that fired up the intellectuals and the idealists of France, it was this philosophy that inspired them with a noble mission, a lofty purpose of transforming human society. These thinkers and philosophers had touched a new level of consciousness of human living and were

trying to express this through their thesis and dreams. The whole nation was rising to a new consciousness, the consciousness of liberty, of individual freedom, of independence in thought and belief. The social, political, economic and religious institutions of France were ill-suited to accommodate this new consciousness and its demands. Religion, art, ethics—all had become degenerated. The degeneration that started in these expressions of social thought naturally filtered down to the political and economic organisations of the nation. It is a fact that long before the famous French Revolution, there was a revolt against the religious beliefs prevalent in that country. Always at the dawn of a new consciousness, touched at first by a few individuals, there has been a revolt in the beginning against prevailing philosophical, religious, ethical or spiritual notions. It is this ideological discontent that gradually permeates various departments of human activities. Where the antiquated forms of the old consciousness are very rigid and offer great resistance, there violent upheavals make their appearances from time to time. Political and economic institutions are affected

the last by the new consciousness, for they are the most rigid superstructures based on the ideology of a society. The very fact that in all countries, at the rise of a new consciousness, there has been a spiritual revolt first and political or economic uprising later, clearly shows that the root cause of a social change is a new spiritual awakening among people demanding new organisations to suit its rightful expressions. Dr. Besant in her marvellous lectures on the French Revolution tells us:

“When, in any country which is not wholly free, there is a rapid spread of Freethought principles, then may the people look for political change; when men use their brains to investigate the rights of the Church, they will use them also to investigate the rights of the Government; when spiritual despotism is defied, temporal despotism will be speedily challenged...”

What does the above assertion show? It was the Freethought that was the impelling cause of the French Revolution. When the whole nation rose to a new consciousness and learnt to think independently, the social, political, economic and religious institutions were challen-

* ‘French Revolution’—Dr. Besant.

ged one by one. It is a law of psychology that life remains concentrated at a particular level of consciousness, both in an individual as well as in a nation. With the rise in the level of consciousness, this concentration of life is shifted from the lower to the higher phase of expression. It is because of this withdrawal of life from the lower, due to a rise in the level of consciousness, that the degeneration of social, political and economic organisations is caused. (For a fuller discussion of this problem of consciousness the reader is referred to the second section of this book) Forms must die in order to give birth to new structures in harmony with the new consciousness. Where this structural adjustment is delayed or resisted, there revolutions have appeared in history. But the cause of all these social changes have to be sought in ideological transformations in humanity. A revolt in thought is a precursor of an economic or political revolt. This shows that the basis of society is not in economics, nor in politics, nor even in religion but in the consciousness of society. It is a law in biology that function precedes organ. This law is applicable to human societies too. Unless human

consciousness rises higher and develops a new functioning faculty in this process, there can never be lasting changes in society. Where organ has preceded the function, there the social structure has remained a hot-house growth, needing artificial conditions for its development. The case of Russia furnishes an example of a hot-house growth of socialism. Believing the economic structure of society as the very basis, the Bolsheviks imposed a socialist structure and economy on that country. And owing to this narrow conception of socialism they have tried to preserve its economic basis at the expense of even disfiguring the great ideal of Socialism, for they thought and still think, that preservation of a particular economic structure is socialism. There is no doubt that economic principles underlying the Russian Experiment are to a very large extent admirable, provided the Experiment is freed from the ugly features of State terrorism. But this proviso can never be fulfilled because structure has preceded the descent of consciousness. Instead of allowing the new consciousness to influence the minds of the people, instead of slowly creating new institutions

to suit the demands of this consciousness, an attempt has been made to sweep the whole nation of all its old organisations. The same thing happened in the case of France and we know the results. We are witnessing the same kind of happenings in the case of Russia today: Trotsky-Zinovieve conspiracies, if true, very abundantly prove that the conditions in France after the revolution are being repeated in Russia also. So long as scientific socialists regard economics as the basis of society and immediately rush at destroying old institutions and imposing new ones, so long will socialism require artificial conditions of terrorism and espionage to protect its outward structures. If economics were the real basis of society, a change in economic institutions ought to mean a complete social change **naturally** followed by other changes in superstructures. Coercive measures of state must disappear if socialism is a natural growth from economic changes. With a change in the structure, a change in superstructure must follow in the ordinary course. If the politicians and mass demagogues of France had not utilised the new literature of France to their own

advantage, if instead of attacking the whole social fabric of France they had gradually adjusted the social institutions to the new consciousness, the history of the French Revolution would have been different. The same thing applies to Russia. And so, just as not organ but function is the basis of all biological growth, the change and growth of society depend upon human consciousness and not upon economic structures. Economics, as every other social institution, is a superstructure on social consciousness. Social change, as conceived by scientific socialists, describes only the method of social change, it does not supply the cause of social change. Economics, politics, religion, art, ethics are merely the instruments of social change—they are not its causes. The cause of every social change lies in the consciousness of humanity. Behind the destruction and formation of structures lies this consciousness. The whole process of social change can very well be understood by the following words of Prof. Marcault:

“Life, then, is the cause and evolution is the effect. Those laws under which evolution is seen to proceed are the means by which life manipulates

matter, shaping it slowly but ceaselessly into an instrument for its own use and expression." *

This, then, is the first fundamental error of Scientific Socialism. All the other errors emanate from this misconception about social basis. The problem of socialism is thus not merely raising the material standard of people, it is fundamentally raising the consciousness of people. It is this consciousness that is the very basis of society and a social change must mean a change in the reactions of the people, so that before a structural change is effected they are prepared to function rightly through the new organs that come into existence. As H. G. Wells puts it: "The. problem of socialism is not merely the problem of distributing economic goods but the problem of finding out real receivers of power." This means, that the problem of socialism is the problem of raising the consciousness of people so that persons competent to function through the new organs of society can come into being. Consciousness precedes structure, is the important truth which one fails to find in the theories of social change propounded by Scientific Socialism.

* ' Evolution of Man'—Prof: Marcault.

With this wrong basis of Marxian Socialism, it is no wonder that its whole edifice is developed on wrong principles. The wrong basis of social change has resulted in wrong methods of bringing about this change. Taking economics as the basis of society, Marxian socialists have naturally believed that a social change consists in rooting out one economic system and replacing it by another. Social reconstruction is, to them, merely a problem of social systems and institutions. It is because of this incomplete notion of reconstruction that we find force, violence inevitably introduced in Marxian methods. If economics is the frame of Marxian Socialism, revolution is the blood that runs through it. Force is the real driving power of Marxism. Marx says: "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with the new." Force, according to this theory, is the instrument that gives birth to socialism, as to every new order of society. We have stated above that the philosophy of Marx is a philosophy of despair. It is in this advocacy of force that the element of despair lies. It is akin to the conception of original sin held by orthodox Christianity. Man is fundamentally sinful, selfish

and only a drastic punishment can bring him round says the orthodox Christian. A child is inherently mischievous and sin-loving and only a rod can set him right, says the old educator. 'Spare the rod and spoil the child' was the educational philosophy of teachers in the days when psychology had not made the progress it has done in recent times. Education has been discarding the theory of the inherent sinfulness of the child and hence replacing the threat of the rod by freedom and proper psychological treatment. It is not at all strange that Marx advocated the method of rod in social changes, for he lived in the days when rod was supreme. But it is certainly strange that his followers are so tenaciously hugging to the theories of original sin and efficacy of rod even in these days when they have been exploded in the fields of education and religion. Modern Socialists might resent the idea that Marxian philosophy is based on the conception of the original sin of man. But a declaration that reason and persuasion are not the methods of social change—only a drastic attack on one class is the solution of our social problem—means nothing else but the belief that human

beings are sinful and can be stopped from evil practices only by a social punishment in the shape of a revolution. This is nothing but an advocay of rod in the affairs of social change. If the basis of society is in the consciousness of human beings, then a psychological understanding is as necessary and inevitable in social and political affairs as in education. We know that a rod might temporarily quiet the child and force him to behave in a manner acceptable to his teacher, but its effect must always be to create psychological complications, mental complexes in the life of such a child. It has been said that a child that has become a victim of cruel punishments by his teachers or parents is likely to turn out either a coward or a bully, very cruelly exploiting and oppressing those who are physically weak than himself. The evils of education in the Public Schools of England have been too graphically described to us by Bertrand Russell in his 'Education and Social Order.' If that is the case with a child, it must equally be so with a class that has been cruelly and violently overthrown. The method will not only harm the vanquished but the victor too,

and the harm done to the latter will be perhaps more dangerous because of the wrong education it receives in its attempts at social change. It is possible that the victor might become as oppressive, and even more than the vanquished whose oppression he has overthrown. This is the great psychological defect of all revolutionary philosophies. It is not by sheer accident that revolutions have been followed by terrorisms more cruel than those which these revolutions have overthrown. These terrorisms are but the psychological effects of social violence and all those who advocate the latter must be prepared to accept them. Those who sow the wind must necessarily reap the whirlwind, for that is the law of human psychology. Prof. Laski very correctly remarks: "The central mistake in Bolshevist policy, it is probable, is greatly to under-estimate the psychic resistance they would encounter." The history of the Russian Revolution bears witness to this assertion and to the correctness of the psychological law. Out of the terrorism and suppression of the Tsar and the denial of all political activity by this Government that the Russian Revolution was born. And the

Bolshevik Party, largely responsible for this revolution, has after raising itself to power instituted similar terrorism and suppression as also denial of political activity to large masses of the Russian people. That there is a denial of political and individual liberty in Russia is admitted even by Mr. M. R. Masani, the Secretary of the Indian Socialist Party who visited Russia in 1935. He writes in his 'Soviet Sidelights': "At the same time the fact cannot be ignored that even within the Party (the Communist Party) the right to oppose the official line of the Party, which means that of its 'great leader and teacher Stalin,' is denied. Trotsky, not to mention many a smaller man, is a living testimony to that fact." The dangers inherent in revolutionary methods and the evils of dictatorships will be discussed later in the Chapter on Methods in this book. Suffice it to say here, that the method of force adopted in the process of social change will undoubtedly bring the whole edifice of Socialism to the ground. And if this does not actually happen it will transform itself into a society left at the mercy of opposing political adventurers. Such a society will mean

a denial of the ideals of Socialism. To neglect the workings of psychological laws in the consideration of social forces is to be blind to realities. What this denial will amount to in the case of Russia is a matter that future historians will have to record. We know what this denial meant in the case of the French Revolution. One should not be surprised if Russia takes the same road, for it is in the nature of things that action and reaction should be equal and opposite. Violence must beget violence; force must generate greater force and a social change that is urged by force and violence must continue by jails, exiles, executions, rods and punishments, for the suppression of plots, counter-revolutions, conspiracies and acts of individual terrorism. Referring to fundamental social changes, Dr. Besant writes:

“.....and these changes will not be made successful in the storm of a revolution because in revolution the men that come to the top are not the wisest men but the most exaggerated men, and the man who can promise most is the one who comes to the top and each one tries to outbid the other in order to secure his power and avoid suspicion from the great masses of the people. The lesson of

the French Revolution is the lesson which it is well to learn. Notice the waves of revolution as they came on and notice how every moderate party in turn was swallowed up and how each extreme party was guillotined by a still more extreme, until the military power put an end to all." *

The third fundamental error, emanating from a misconception of social basis and a wrong method of social change, is with regard to a perverse ethical appeal that characterises scientific socialism. We have seen above that modern socialists are engaged in violent methods of change in social basis, through revolutionary action. But this revolution does not come into existence all of a sudden. It requires a suitable appeal, an appropriate war-cry, before it becomes a universally accepted line of action. It is a common experience of all, who have to deal with large masses, that people are urged to action only when they are emotionally stirred. This emotional stirring is required both for constructive as well as destructive activities. Masses of almost all the nations are at the level of impulses and a movement that derives its strength from masses must needs play upon

* 'Future Socialism'—Dr. Besant.



their impulses. Mass leaders have too often been successful mostly because of their mass oratory or better still mass demagoguery, which really means rousing the mass of people to a very high pitch of emotions. Masses do not embrace revolutionary dangers out of a sense of sacrifice; to expect this is surely absurd. A strong emotional reaction to the beautiful promise of happiness held out by mass leaders is generally the motive power that drives people to dare all revolutionary dangers. Those who are engaged in the task of social reconstruction must either rule out revolutionary methods and wait for a gradual transformation by constructively organising the impulsive life of nations or else rouse the self-interest and destructive passions of people. If, as is contended by scientific socialists, social change is only an economic change and if this change is to be brought about by force, it is natural that impulses appropriate to force should be stimulated among masses so that social revolution might become a practical proposition. And, it is exactly this that Marxian Socialism does. For it makes its appeal for social change, not to the finer feelings of

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humanity, but, to the passions and hatreds of a class that has unfortunately been very mercilessly exploited by the capitalist order of society. The change to be brought about is through the class hatred of the working class. We have seen above that these working masses are becoming very desperate under the pressure of their material misery. It is this desperateness that inspires them to regard class war as the only saviour of their kith and kin from physical unhappiness. It is this desperateness that leads them to rally round the banner of class war unfurled by scientific socialists. But it must be remembered, that numerical strength of a movement is not the criterion with which to judge its soundness. It is easy to enlist support of people by appealing to their self-interest and their class antagonisms. But a support evinced through these means does not prove the correctness of a theory. It is true that modern social structure is based on class domination. It is also true that class wars are being waged everyday in the world in factories, workshops and even in fields. To say that class war has been invented by scientific

socialists is to ignore facts. Masses in all countries, suffering under staggering misery, are daily nourishing a sense of hatred against a class that oppresses them. These class hatreds are taking the forms of strikes and other political as well as economic measures of warfare, resorted to by the working class. Scientific Socialists desire to build a society that is free from these class struggles, they want a class-less society to be established in all the countries of the world. To root out all causes of class war is certainly a very admirable thing to do, for socialism, if it is going to be a better order of society, must be free from class wars and class hatreds. The only difficulty with scientific socialists is, that they want this class-less society to be brought into the world through the instrumentality of class-wars, of intensified class struggles. Their way of social change lies through the stimulation of class hatred. Sydney Hook in his "Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx" tells us: "Only through a class struggle can a change in property relationships, i. e., social revolution, be achieved." According to this statement, social

change means change in property relationships, the change to be brought about is through a social revolution and the aim of social revolution is to be achieved through a class struggle. A society free of class hatreds to be ushered in by the intensification of class hostility—this is the dream of our scientific socialists! During the Great European War of 1914–18, we were told by the politicians of the Allied Powers that they were fighting a war in order to end all future wars. ‘War to end war’ was the slogan preached to the nations of the world. ‘Victory through war is a Great Illusion’ declared Norman Angell, but everybody seemed to be believing in the possibility of abolishing all wars through the method of human slaughter. But we know after the sad experiences of the post-war conditions of the world, and especially of Europe, that not only did the Great War not eliminate all wars, but on the contrary, it generated causes of all the future wars, the wars that are threatening Europe today, the wars that are hanging over the whole world, ready to destroy modern civilisation. But these threats of war are natural consequences of

violent hatreds let loose during the Great War. It is Germany, supposed to have been vanquished, that is threatening the peace of Europe and of the whole world, and it cannot be denied that Germany is merely reacting to the hatreds and the ill-treatments showered upon her by the powerful nations of the world. The dreams of reconstructing the world on a new basis have been entirely frustrated only because the hatreds let loose during the war were far too powerful to allow the nations of the world to settle down in constructive plans. Piling up of armaments has been the one programme followed by all governments in order to protect national frontiers which have been faced with dangers as a result of the Peace Treaty ! The world that was fighting a war to end all wars twenty-two years ago, is again presented with the spectacle of every nation arming itself to the teeth and making ready for plunging all humanity in another, more devastating, conflagration. And the scientific Socialists are telling us that they are fighting and intensifying class war in order to end future class wars. They want us to forget the lessons of the Great

War as also the lessons of the French Revolution. A society that emerges through class war will continue only by ruthless suppression of individuals, parties and classes, for it will be in a constant fear of conspiracies and counter-revolutions, even as Europe is today. Such a society must invariably breed germs of countless other conflicts, and although it might feel secure temporarily, as did Europe after defeating Germany, it will find its security most insecure ere long. Class wars to end all future class struggles, is a statement, as meaningless and as dangerous as the slogan of war to end war. Masses that are led to social change through hatred are bound to be demoralised and degenerated. Appeals of hatred and class war are harmful, both to society and to the class that is aspiring to power. H. G. Wells tells us very appropriately:

“Marx’s theory of the inevitability of class warfare is one of the most pernicious thing that ever happened to humanity. It is as bad as the idea of the inevitability of conflict between nations.” *

The necessity of class war for the introduction of a class-less society is absurd on the

* ‘Foreign Affairs’—An American Journal.

face of it. Those who advocate it either do not understand its implications or want to set up another class rule under the cloak of abolition of all classes. It is not wrong to say that socialism through hatred is a negation of socialism. And so, we have seen that just as the basis of social change advocated by Marxian socialism is wrong, so the methods and the appeals for making those methods successful are dangerous and positively perverse. A society based on rotten foundations must fall to the ground. A society brought into being in defiance of psychological laws of action and reaction must create problems more complicated than those which it proposed to solve. A society that comes into being by rousing passions of hatred and self-interest must inevitably continue by fear and perverted human relationships. And that is what modern scientific socialism implies.

We have thus considered the basis of social change, the method of social change and the appeal for social change as given by Marxian Socialism. Let us now consider the scientific understanding of

social change according to the theories of Marx. Lenin says: "Modern socialist consciousness can arise only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge." Now scientific knowledge need not mean knowledge only of economic and social sciences. It must take into consideration physical and natural sciences as well. For these sciences are affecting our lives and thoughts enormously. Their investigations throw a great light on philosophical assertions. Their discoveries influence to a great extent our notions of history and social change. If socialist philosophy professes to be scientific, it must square its accounts with these sciences. And so, let us consider the relation of Marxism with modern science. Before coming to that, we might have a look at the scientific background in which Marx propounded his theories.

During the days in which Marx lived and developed his thesis, the Western world was in the throes of an advancing science. The nineteenth century was a century of optimism as far as science was concerned. It was believed that science would solve all problems facing humanity,

that it would tear all the veils that kept men in ignorance. Science seemed to all to be all victorious. Everything would ultimately yield to science—religion and philosophy—for science was all powerful, so thought men and women of the last century. A conviction was growing among people that at last science would lead them to the promised land of happiness, the real kingdom of heaven. Even scientists thought that they had reached the very depths of universal mystery and that it was a question of a few years, a question of some laboratory experiments when they would come out finally triumphant against all the forces of creation. Prof. Tyndal in an address in 1874 before the British Association is said to have remarked that future science would enable us to survey “ultimately purely natural and inevitable march of evolution from the atoms of the primeval nebula to the proceedings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.” Such was the spirit of optimism that ruled the scientific world of the Victorian age. Scientists thought that they had unravelled the mystery of matter, that they had in their possession everything connected with

matter and its composition. To them, it seemed, the laws underlying all natural phenomena had become plain and very bravely they believed that God was an illusion and teleological basis of society as entirely unfounded. To them creation and evolution seemed quite contrary, and since evolution was a proved theory, the idea of a God creating the universe was absurd to them. In short, science was marching from victory to victory and thought itself to be unassailable. It was an age of conquering science and religion trembled before its overwhelming power. Religion was on its defensive and with every march of science it retraced its steps. Religion had become bankrupt, for it had nothing positive to give. It was but natural that people accepted the religion of science, for the orthodox religion failed to satisfy the needs of the people.

It was in this age that Marx lived. It is no wonder if he was influenced by the currents of scientific thought existing in his times. One can see in his philosophy a clear reflection of the scientific trends of his age. His philosophy is

undoubtedly based on the science of the 19th. Century. What did science believe about life in those days? It believed that the universe was a vast machine and that everything could be explained in terms of the 'movements of the pieces of matter.' It said, to quote Prof. Tyndal, that, one must see "**in matter** the promise and potency of every form of life." In the movements of matter lay all the explanations of events that had happened and would happen in future. The philosophy that emanated was a materialistic philosophy which sought in matter the solution of all mysteries. This philosophy had become very common with the intellectuals of the last century. And Marxian philosophy is but an echo of this common trend. Although Marx differed much from the materialistic philosophers of his time, in as much as he did not accept the mechanical conception of materialism, these differences were not of a fundamental nature, for they only explained how matter behaved (and that is what is described in Marxian Dialectics) and did not challenge the assertion that in matter was the explanation of the whole universe. Mind is the function of

matter, declares the philosophy of Marx. It is matter that determines mind and not mind that determines matter, is the fundamental tenet of Marxian philosophy. Prof. Joad very humourously and correctly says in his 'Guide to Modern Thought' that Copernicus abolished the primacy of man's planet in the universe, Darwin abolished the primacy of man within his planet and materialism abolished the primacy of mind within the man. Marxian materialism sails in the same boat with other materialists with regard to mind's subservience to matter. Marx argued that if idea was primary to matter, where could such an idea live? It cannot live in void. And hence, according to him, all arts, all sciences, all politics are mere superstructures on matter. The idea that material condition is the basis of all society is clearly rooted in this materialistic philosophy. It is not mind and its development that are deciding factors in history but material necessities are the causes of all social progress, such is the contention of Marxian philosophy. According to this conception, ideology is the product of matter and people who develop their ideologies do so under a

conscious or an unconscious influence of their material position. Pure thought, according to this philosophy, is an impossibility. This is a philosophy which regards material environment as everything. It is plain that behind this interpretation of history, which regards material environment as the deciding factor in social progress, the materialistic conception of universe is quite predominant. And so, even though modern socialists might maintain that Marxian materialism has nothing to do with the metaphysical aspects of this doctrine, one cannot accept this statement because metaphysical materialism runs like a thread through all the assertions and theorisations of Marxism. And again, this metaphysics is based on the science of the nine-teenth century in which Marx lived and worked. We know that Marx was largely influenced by Hegel in his theories and philosophies. But he has turned Hegel upside down, for the latter believed in an Absolute Idea to which all creation is moving through the process of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis. But to Marx these conceptions of the Absolute Idea and the world moving to a predestined plan were repugnant.

And so, while he accepted the Hegelian idea of conflict as the soul of progress, he applied it to the materialistic philosophy of Feurbach. The result was the Dialectic Materialism of Marx. There is no doubt, the primariness of matter underlies all conclusions arrived at by Marxian Socialists concerning social progress. Here is Mr. Jai Prakash Narain proving the truth of above statement:

“Matter in its infinite combinations produces the peach and the dogberry, the tulip and the dandelion; in the same manner it produces an Einstein and an Ivan the Fool.” *

So Marxism tells us that it is not life but matter that in its infinite combinations produces an Einstein or for the matter of that any other genius of the world. Now the conception of this matter, according to Scientists of Marxian period, was some definite thing lying out in space. This matter was the ultimate reality of all things. Everything that could be touched by hand and seen with physical eyes was to them real, all else was an illusion. It seems our scientific socialists of today are still clinging

* ‘Why Socialism?’ — I. N. Narain

to the scientific notions of the last century even though science has repudiated its own stand of those times. Science of the 20 th. Century is completely revolutionised, so much so, that scientists are gradually discarding materialism and adopting the attitude of idealism. Prof. Joad tells us: "Modern physics lends support to Idealism and suggests, if it does not actually require, a religious interpretation of the universe." Deeper and deeper investigations into the composition of matter have led modern scientists to completely change their notions about matter, so much so, that this conception of matter is taking them into the fields of philosophy and metaphysics.. Mr Arthur Balfour very aptly said: "We know too much about matter to be materialists." With the modern discoveries into the nature of matter, one wonders whether belief in materialism is at all justified today. Prof. Marcault says: "Matter, as a basic reality, no longer exists, that which we call an atom being nothing but a bundle of waves, a vortex of energy." If matter is not a basic reality according to science, then a philosophy which regards matter as the very basis of

the universe can hardly be regarded as scientific. Regarding the modern scientific conception of matter, Prof. Joad writes:

“Modern matter is something innately attenuated and elusive, it is a hump in space-time, a ‘mush’ of electricity, a wave of probability undulating into nothingness; frequently it is not matter at all but a **projection of the Consciousness of its perceiver.**” *

And if matter is but a projection of the consciousness of man, are we not coming to the conclusion that not matter but something else is the ultimate reality to which all things can be reduced? Modern science believes that the matter we see with our physical eyes is the result of something finer that is not visible to the eye nor even to the microscope, it is a thing which only mathematics or mind can perceive. This conception of matter has already taken scientists out of the popularly known realm of matter. The science that has come to this will have to assert that the physical matter, seen by the eye and touched

* ‘A Guide to Modern Thought’—C.E.M. Joad.

by the hand has its place of emanation somewhere else in non-physical realms. Where this matter exists outside the physical realm is a problem that is perplexing modern science, but there is no doubt that it does exist and that it is invisible to us. "Matter is but an expression of energy" says Einstein, the scientific genius of our age. And if matter is only an expression, it means that it is a function of something finer and higher. It means that matter is not the basis but only an instrument of expression. Not only is this the case in Physics, even modern Biology finds it difficult to maintain that mental activities are but changes in physical brain, that life is only a product of matter, a non-living substance. Prof. Joad calls our attention to this fact in the following words:

"Life, it seems, is fundamental; moreover it is creative and uses and moulds the forms of living organisms as instruments to further its purposes and serve its ends." *

And so it is not matter in its infinite combinations that produces an Einstein, but it

* 'A Guide to Modern Thought,'—C. E. M. Joad.

is life that manipulates matter and combines in a way that Einstein can find his expression. It is true that Einstein is one of the infinite combinations of matter, but this combination is effected because of the creative life that uses matter as its instrument. Prof. Plank, an outstanding scientist of our age, is said to have remarked in an interview: "I regard consciousness as fundamental. I regard matter as derivative from consciousness." Sir James Jeans, a great British Astronomer, says: "The universe can best be pictured, although still very imperfectly and inadequately, as consisting of Pure Thought, the thought of, what for want of a wider word, we must describe as, a mathematical thinker." Modern scientific thinkers of great repute regard thought and consciousness as basic realities and matter as only the expression of these. With a change in this basic conception of the universe, scientific thinkers of today have discarded the mechanistic notion of all movements of matter. They are beginning to feel that the universe is not moving haphazardly, that there is a plan, a design according to which the progress of the universe proceeds. "A far off divine event

to which all creation moves" is not a mere poetic fantasy, it is a thought to which scientists are giving a serious consideration. Prof. Fraser Harris of Halifax says: "Electron, molecule, living cell, plant, animal all reveal uniformity in construction and self-consistent conformity to Plan." Prof. J. A. Thompson, an authority on Darwinism, regards evolution as not inconsistent with creation and hence, conceives of a possibility of the existence of a creator. Teleology is a thing which is attracting the attention of scientific thinkers of our age. It is true, they have not yet unravelled this mystery of plan—but that there must be a design is the thought that is becoming very common among radical scientists of the world. They have discarded the attitude of optimism that characterised their predecessors of the last century. The new attitude is seen clearly in the words of Prof. Planck: "That the real world is ruled by some incomprehensible rules is the supposition of science." It is gratifying to note that modern scientists are turning towards religious thinkers for the understanding of the world process. It is said that Prof. Eddington and various other scientists

occasionally refer to Madame Blavatsky's ' Secret Doctrine ' in order to understand the universal mystery. None can say where science will go—but one thing is certain, it has repudiated matter to be the basic reality of the universe. It has at least come to very nearly realise the truth of the assertion made by Sir William Crookes from the Chair of the British Association for the Advancement of Science: "We have to see in life the origin of all forms." More and more as we study the works of modern scientists, we find that they are coming to the conclusions that there is no brute matter, that thought is the underlying principle, that there is no inconsistency between evolution and creation, that there is orderliness, that there are planned movements in nature, that there is a great design in the universe. Prof. Metcalf's words might give us a glimpse of where the modern scientific world is marching:

"I cannot but feel that the physical and the spiritual are essentially one and that the spiritual aspect is primary, the physical its outworking, in other words, that God's will sustains everything and that all is directed by Intelligence and is purposeful." *

* 'The Great Design'—F. Mason.

He would indeed be a very bold man who in spite of these scientific assertions belived in the materialistic conception of the universe, and still called himself scientific. Science is cutting the very ground underneath materialism. Hence a socialist philosophy that takes its stand even today on materialism ceases to be scientific. When science is taking rapid strides in the direction of idealism, materialism is certainly at variance with its investigations. It is sheer orthodoxy—nay blind dogmatism—to cling fast to a scientific philosophy which science itself repudiates! One can understand Marx propounding a materialistic philosophy, for he lived in an age when materialism was supported by science also. But to hug childishly to this philosophy even now surely does not show ‘a profound scientific knowledge.’ The scientific understanding of the world process proclaimed by Marxian Socialism is thus out of harmony with modern scientific investigations. And that is the fourth fundamental error of Scientific Socialism.

Thus do we see that Marxian Socialism is contrary to what modern scientists have come to believe. Its assertions are opposed to the

conceptions of modern science. We have so far considered that the basis of scientific socialism is wrong, that its urge to action defies all psychological laws, that its emotional and ethical appeals are perverse, that its conception of world process is unscientific. We have seen that its materialism is unsound. Not that we object to the definition of Einstein as one of the infinite combinations of matter-but we assert, on the strength of modern science, that it is life that produces this combination and so the above definition of Einstein only describes him, it does not explain the cause of such a combination of matter. Even while discussing the socialist conception of social change, we remarked that socialists only describe the process of social change, they do not give causes for the same. The same error we find in its scientific understanding. It mistakes a result for a cause, a description for a definition. This is indeed the fallacy of scientific socialism. With materialism discarded by modern science, let us consider the other aspect of Marxian materialism viz. its Dialectics. When materialism has been found incorrect, the Dialectics that explains materialism

must be wrong. While considering the third error of Marxian Socialism, we saw that scientific socialism appeals to the intensification of class war in order to bring about a social change. This class war is not merely an emotional appeal. The correctness of class war, or rather the inevitability of it, is sought to be proved through Dialectical Materialism by Marx. Its justification is found by Marx in his theory of Social Dialectics. Marx tells us: "The history of humanity is the history of its class struggles." In a given society there is a social thesis and this thesis gives birth to its anti-thesis. There is a constant struggle between these two opposing forces and they ultimately resolve themselves into a synthesis. This process is continuously going on in society and he calls this process class struggle. There is one difficulty with regard to this theory of social dialectics and it is this,—a society that is based on classes can perhaps progress by class struggles, at least let us take that granted for the sake of argument. But what will happen to social progress when a class-less society is brought into being? Will the theory of social dialectics cease to operate? Or will humanity

stop progressing after it has reached the class-less heaven? Or is this class-less society a mere myth held out to enchant credulous people? For, if classes do not exist, how can there be a class struggle and if there is no class war, how can there be social progress? Marxists tell us that there will be struggles in a class-less society but such struggles will be on a different plane. One fails to understand why there should be a change in the operation of the law of social dialectics. It seems there is some fundamental error in the Marxian conception of social dialectics. There is no doubt that world advances by conflicts, by clashes, by thesis and anti-thesis. Even ancient Indian philosophies talked of these two opposing elements in the universe, the conflict between which was regarded as the impetus to progress. The history of humanity is certainly a history of these conflicts. But to say that these conflicts are merely class struggles is to pervert a historical fact. If, as we have considered above, consciousness is primary and matter its derivation, the root cause of struggles ought to be sought in the realm of that which is primary, and not in one that is its derivation.

Once again, the scientific socialists are mistaking the expression for the reality. All changes, whether biological, psychological or social come from above and never from below i. e. they come from consciousness and not from matter. There is a duality of life and matter with its connecting link in consciousness. (For this discussion see the Second Section.) Now this life is regarded even by modern Biologists as creative. It is this life that moulds forms to suit its expressions through different levels of consciousness. The whole universe goes on with this struggle between life and matter—between thesis and anti-thesis. It is also true that thesis creates its own anti-thesis. For life creates its own forms and these forms themselves become limitations on the expressions of that life. When the forms thus become limitations they are destroyed or rather disintegrated and out of their disintegration a new synthesis between life and matter is produced. This again creates its own antithesis and so the process of this struggle goes on. Prof. Marcault tells us: "...matter is not an absolute thing in itself, but rather a crystallization of life, a **temporary restriction**

placed upon its unfettered movement."

When this restriction on life becomes rigid, the struggle that ensues is rather severe. This means that the history of human progress is the history of this struggle between social life and social organisation, between human consciousness and social institutions. The desire for social change comes from a rise in the levels of human consciousness and where the expression of this desire is thwarted by social institutions, there the struggle becomes very grim. One might ask, if life creates forms, how can there be a struggle between the two? In the question of social progress when we say that there is a conflict between life and form, what we mean is, that there is a conflict between the new ideology that is grasped by idealists and dreamers and which slowly becomes permeated in society and the established forms to which the old ideology clings fast. The struggle is between the new ideology and the established forms inhabited by old ideological concepts. The more impelling the force of new ideology becomes, the faster grows the disintegration of established social institutions. To say that this conflict is merely a class struggle

is not to understand the full meaning of social progress. Class struggle is verily an ugly distortion of an ideological conflict. The fundamental conflict is between the descending consciousness and the fossilized organisations based on already exteriorised modes of social consciousness. That these ideological struggles take the form of class conflicts is due to the fact that panic stricken reactionaries want to preserve old forms, even at the cost of stifling new consciousness, and on the other, over-zealous revolutionaries desire to impose at one sweep a new structure in the interest of new consciousness. The very fact that Europe is invaded both by rank Communism and rabid Fascism at the same time shows the correctness of the above statement. The class struggle does exist in society because of the resistance given to social change. It also exists because of the desire on the part of extreme radicals in society to regard structure as more important than the emergence of new consciousness. The struggle will ever exist between those who stand for the new order and those who want to continue the old. But such struggles need not necessarily be fought on the

issues of material needs. The material or the economic cry is the crudest expression of socialism. The real battle of socialism is daily being fought on the plane of ideologies and its success will depend upon who is triumphant there. Out of the struggle of ideologies does society progress and so the history of humanity is not the history of its class struggles but the history of its ideological clashes. This is ideological dialectics which alone can explain all social history. It is in terms of this ideological struggle that history is rendered intelligible. Understanding of human consciousness, its inherent powers, its latent faculties are thus quite inevitable to the study of history and progress of civilisations. An attempt to find in class struggles the solution of all human problems is futile, it must be sought in the growth of human consciousness and the struggle that arises at the emergence of every new mode of this consciousness. This then is the fifth fundamental error of Scientific Socialism—the error of misjudging history, of once again mistaking crude expressions for a reality, of taking the shadow to be the substance.

If this error is fully grasped, socialists must discard all hasty attempts to bring socialism, for socialism is a question of adjusting humanity to a new consciousness, not forcing it to adopt a new structure. And so the fight for socialism, has to be fought gradually and largely on the level of ideological struggles. G.D. H. Cole writes:

“.....if we seek Socialism without assiduously preaching to mankind a new way of living together, we are in a grievous danger of making only the Slave State where bureaucrats will rule and the quality of life decay.’ *

From the two errors, the fourth and the fifth, above considered there emanates a sixth error. Marxian Socialism, based as it is on materialism and social dialectics of class struggle, over-emphasises the objective element in life. It regards environment as everything. Clearly enough it has underestimated the subjective element in the consideration of social progress. It regards man as one of the infinite combinations of matter and not a creative entity. But this is quite consistent with Marxian philosophy of

* ‘The Simple Case for Socialism’—G.D.H.Cole.

materialism, for if subjective element is regarded predominant, it would mean the primariness of mind over matter. This is also in harmony with the dialectics of class struggle for according to that a man is fundamentally a creature of his class. It is because of this that Bukharin in his 'Historical Materialism' tells us that all art is but a class art, all literature influenced by class bias. One of the greatest difficulties in accepting this objective theory is that it fails to explain the differences in talents and temperaments among human beings. If environment is everything, every individual in the world, if supplied with proper environment, would become an Einstein or a Planck, a Dr. Besant or a Tagore, an Ibsen or a Shakespeare. And yet do we find very few, microscopically few, talented and outstanding individuals as these. The differences in talents are to be seen even among those who are born of the same parents and are brought up under the same environment. We also find that great men and women of the world make their way to greatness out of an entirely unfavourable objective environment. It is surely incorrect to say that Mazzinis and

Garibaldi, Lenins and Trotskys, Hitlers and Mussolinis are the products of their environment. They have on the contrary pushed their way inspite of their unfavourable environment. Lives of the illustrious tell us invariably that man is greater than his enviroment. It is impossible to maintain that material enviroment can explain all the differences in men and women. And yet the materialistic interpretation tries to offer an environmental explanation for all the diversities and distinctions appearing in humanity. If this theory is correct, it must explain the behaviours of all, even of Prince Kropotkin who though born in nobility toiled for the masses. To introduce an element of chance where this is not possible is surely to admit the inapplicability of this interpretation. Dr. Bhagvandas in his ' Ancient versus Modern Scientific Socialism ' very aptly puts a question, " Why on the materialistic interpretation of history is talent born only by the ten (scarcely even that) and not by the hundred ? Why are there exceptional individuals ? " The question is absolutely reasonable, for why were Marx and Lenin born inspite of their unfavourable circumstances

and why are there not hundreds of Lenins, although the circumstances that produced one Lenin are existing in many parts of the world? Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, the spokesman of the Indian Socialist Party, tells us in his 'Why Socialism?' that the differences in talents have nothing to do with the materialistic interpretation of history. He ridicules Dr. Bhagvandas for having put this question and remarks that the Doctor might as well have asked why are the Himalayas taller than other mountain ranges in India. He says "Differences in talents of men have as little to do with historical materialism as the differences in the heights of these mountains." What does this mean? Does it mean that the differences in talents can never be satisfactorily explained? Or does it mean that these differences are due entirely to chance? Mr. J. P. Narain further tells us: "Just as it was possible for physical forces to produce the latter differences so it was possible for them to produce the former." What are these physical forces? Does the author mean that earthquakes are responsible for differences in human talents? Or are geogra-

phical and climatic conditions answerable for these? Is Lenin a creation of physical forces? But it might be said that these physical forces are the bio-social factors. It means that the biology of an individual is responsible for these differences. It means that man is a product of social environment and biological composition. This is more or less in harmony with the theories of Modern Behaviourists. According to this theory, behaviours of individuals are to be explained by their responses to outer stimuli. It assumes that man has no mind, independent of his environment and even if he has a mind it is not a very contributing factor in judging behaviours. This means that the character of a man is nothing but a conditioned reflex. A marxist considers even a spiritual behaviour as explainable by material or bio-social influences. According to this contention a man can be made to act spiritually by proper bio-social influences. It is even possible to create another Einstein in the behaviourist factory of the Marxists. Dr. Watson in America has been carrying on numberless experiments in behaviourism on little children. But these

experiments have yet to prove that they can produce geniuses like Einstein or scientific thinkers like Eddington and Jeans. Till that is proved, the problem of differences in talents must remain unexplained by bio-social influences. Of course when this theory is proved, western nations will be strewn with exceptional individuals and then Aldous Huxley's 'Brave New World' will not remain a mere romantic fiction, but will become a happy reality! The important question is, can behaviourism wipe out differences in talents or can it explain the reasons of these differences? It is possible that behaviourist methods can remove certain unhealthy features in children, it can even stimulate good habits. It is possible that environment, not merely material, but psychological, educational and cultural (which scientific socialists, please note) can draw out a large number of possibilities from children; it can in short remove all social handicaps in the growth of the child. But surely this cannot wipe out all differences in talents of various children. It can, in the Mendelian terminology, remove some of the inhibiting factors so as to facilitate the growth of the child, but can it

equalize the talents of all? Can behaviourism produce Buddha, Christ, Mohamed? Can bio-social influences make the reactions of all to outer environment quite uniform? If not, how can the still persisting differences be accounted for? If all the reactions and responses to outer stimuli cannot be equalized, what is the reason of this difference? Why should these talents of various people still remain so very markedly diverse? Marxists as well as Behaviourists might reply, that there are inherent biological differences due to which there must remain differences in responses and this again must create distinctions in talents. But the question is, why are there biological differences in human beings? Is there any intelligent reason behind these differences in the biological compositions of various individuals? Why should Einstein react in a particular way, why Bergson in another way and why should we, lesser folks, react in still different way to the outer stimuli that are placed before us? Is it a mere chance? Does it mean that man has to take his biological lot philosophically and thank his own fate? Or is there some more intelligent explanation

to these differences, which even Behaviourism cannot remove? About certain outstanding historical personages who have appeared from time to time in the world and have influenced the course of human events, Engels, the life comrade of Marx, in his letter to Hans Starkenburg, written on January 25, 1894, tells us: "That a certain particular man and no other emerges at a definite time in a given country is naturally pure chance." And so according to this, talents are to be explained away by mere chance, by a pure accident, a simple co-incidence—as simple as the Himalayas are taller than other mountain ranges of the world! But this is no explanation, this is evading it. Even the scientists of today have thrown away the theory of chance in the universe. They have come to realise that there is a plan in nature. What this plan is, is still a mystery to them. But all the same they declare that the universe is run by some incomprehensible laws. Either one must say like the scientists that he does not know the reason of all the differences in man and nature or else he must offer some intelligent explanation.

The reason of these differences have to be sought in the subjective factor of man. Unless there is a correct comprehension of man, this mystery of the differences in talents can never be solved. Man is ever trying to influence his environment, just as environment is trying to press upon him. But man, as he progresses more and more, realises that he is greater than his circumstances. It is in fact, the purpose of all human evolution to make him realise this fundamental fact. Greatness emerging out of an unfavourable environment really depends upon this subjective factor. But this does not mean that subjective factor alone is responsible for building a man, it does not mean that objective conditions are quite immaterial. To jump to this conclusion is certainly wrong. The way of extremes is invariably false, the truth lies always in the middle. Let it not be maintained that mind is everything and matter is un-real. Both of them are unreal in a strict philosophical sense or neither of them is unreal. The world progresses, as seen before, by the interaction of mind and matter, by the struggle of life and form. Neither absolute subjectivism nor absolute objectivism is

correct; the only correct position is the harmony between the two. To balance the subjective and the objective is for us the right attitude so far as our world of the relative is concerned. It is only when we take this position that we can understand the mysteries of differences in human talents. To take the subjective factor into consideration is to regard man as a creative entity, as an independent reality, having his own line of growth and evolution. The differences in humanity exist because all men are not at the same level of evolution nor are they temperamentally all alike. What behaviourist education can do is to remove social obstacles in the way of man's evolution, but after doing this it cannot go further, for education can never draw out more than what man at his level of evolution can potentially objectivise. That which is ripe for objectivisation can be hastened by education in its process of emergence. It means that nature and nurture can negatively help the individual by removing certain obstacles, they can even stimulate good reactions—but they can never alter fundamental reactions of the child, the reactions that belong to his temperament

and to his level of evolution. They might even hasten the evolution but the former must remain unaltered for that belongs to the real subjective man and defies all objective limitations. Dr. Besant very rightly stresses this subjective side in her 'Future Socialism.' She says:

"It is forgotten that environment and living organism react the one upon the other; and though it is true that we need a better environment, though the environment of many men and women today is soundly and utterly vile that it is almost impossible that healthy plants can grow therein, still the fact that man is a living creature who more than any other adapts his environment to himself, is too much forgotten in the ordinary teaching of Socialism." *

Good environment does not by itself make a good citizen. Nor are biological differences a product of mere chance. The mystery of differences in talents can never be fully explained either by behaviourism or by bio-social influences or even by materialist interpretation of history. The solution of this, is to be sought reasonably in the theory of Re-incarnation. It is this that makes

* 'Future Socialism.'—Dr. Besant.

everything intelligible, it is this that rules out the existence of chance. After all the efforts of behaviourism to mould the character of men have been applied, the still-persisting differences in talents and reactions have to be explained intelligently only by the theories of Re: incarnation and Evolution. (The Theories of Re: incarnation and Evolution can best be understood by referring to any of the Classical Books of Theosophy, more particularly Dr. Besant's 'Evolution of Life and Form' and C. Jinarajadas as 'First Principles of Theosophy'). It is true that Marx never knew the scientific and philosophical basis of these theories. Born and brought up in Orthodox Christianity, which takes no cognizance of the theory of Re-incarnation, it is quite natural that he should have tried to explain human behaviours from the standpoint of one life. With this philosophical limitation, he attempted to explain things in terms of materialistic interpretation and where he failed to do this he had to leave things to chance. The position of Marx is quite understandable. Even where he recognised the subjective factor, he minimised its importance

for he regarded it not from the standpoint of an evolving man (through a series of lives, but only as a superstructure on matter, at times influencing the operation of the latter. But for people living in Eastern lands, as also those in the West who have read the scientific literature of Theosophy, there is no reason why they should cling to the theory of materialism or rather objectivism with its corollary of chance. So long as Behaviourism does not prove its ability to produce another Einstein and so long as Materialism or objectivism takes resort to chance while explaining human phenomena, the theory of Re-incarnation is the only correct theory that holds ground and explains all the temperamental differences and distinctions in talents. It might be very good tactics to reject this theory and stand blindly on the sands of objectivism in the interests of a revolution. But it is hardly a scientific outlook. If Marxian Socialism does this, it hardly deserves to be called a philosophy of life. And so this is its sixth fundamental error of evolving a false outlook on life, an outlook of objectivism, ruling out the creativeness of man.

Emanating from this false outlook on life is the seventh fundamental error of Marxism. It is the anti-spiritual expressions of Scientific Socialism. Too much objectivism has made the subjective or spiritual flights of men a subject of ridicule at the hands of these socialists. A revolutionary philosophy must needs take its stand on objective realities. Revolutionaries in all ages have looked with disfavour at subjective spirituality of men and women. To them subjectivism has been an arch-enemy of revolution. It is this attitude that very largely explains the anti-religious outlook of scientific socialists. Religion or rather Spirituality does make a man subjective, for the function of religion is to lead men to the realisation of their inherent powers, to their own splendours. One of the functions of religion is to emphasise man's superiority over his outer circumstances, to make him a master of his environment. If people took seriously to this spiritual outlook, it is plain that no outside agencies would be necessary for bringing about revolutions in society. But just as there are vested interests in religion which try to keep men away from true spiritual conceptions so

that they may remain subservient to religious orders and priestly authorities, so are there vested interests in revolutionary movements which scrupulously magnify the role of objective factors and which carry people away from spiritual outlooks, so that they may remain quite loyal to revolutionary parties. Scientific Socialists will of course resent this introduction of the question of religion and spirituality in the discussions of Marxian principles. They say that reactionaries have always raised the bogey of 'religion in danger' in order to discredit the socialist movement in the eyes of large masses, who cling to religion out of ignorance and superstition. They tell us that religion has nothing to do with their plans of social reconstruction. It is true that reactionaries have invariably found shelter in organised religion while opposing schemes of social change. Organised religion has been in almost all countries a bulwark of reaction. The history of organised religion and the role of salaried priesthood are characterised by a relentless opposition to all social change. The cruel terrorism of Tsar invariably found support and acclamation from the Russian Clergy.

It is this fact that has contributed more than anything else towards creating an anti-religious attitude among the Russian Communists. There is no doubt that organised religion has acted contrary to the spirit of religion as given by its Founder. Christianity, which in its pristine purity, gives but one message of self-Sacrifice has been perverted by its followers so much that it has become a powerful instrument in the hands of Governments and vested interests to exploit and oppress human beings. This is a highly deplorable fact and religion must be saved from the vile hands of its salaried priesthood, so that once again men may realise their true spiritual natures. But if this has been the role of religion, has revolution remained untarnished? If the salaried priesthood has degraded the spirit of true religion, have not revolutionary adventurers undermined the very purpose of their revolutionary creeds? If religion has exploited the ignorance and superstition of people, has not revolution exploited the discontent and emotional exuberance of the masses? If religion has been the opium of people slumbering them into idle hopes of some fantastic heaven,

has not revolution been an intoxicating drug for masses, stupefying their intelligence and artificially stimulating them to achieve some impossible dream of revolutionary paradise ? If the role of organised religion has been bad, the role of revolution has been equally so—if not more. Those who stay in houses of glass ought not to indulge in the luxury of throwing stones at others. Revolutionaries have no right to throw stones at religion without first putting their own house in order. To rule out religion because its organised expression has acted contrary to its spirit is not to do proper justice to this aspect of human life. Let religion be judged, not from the standpoint of history, but from the viewpoint of psychology and spirituality. It must be remembered that religion is no mere creation of vested interests to keep the masses in subjection—although the votaries of vested interests might have twisted religious organisations to their own purpose. Religion is no mere habit of the mind, it is not a worthless superstition either. Nor is it a fact today that religion and science are opposed to each other. Spirituality is one of the most fundamental urges of human beings, and

religion is but an outer expression of it. Just as non-satisfaction of physical hunger creates a race of impoverished and under-nourished men and women, in the same way suppression of spiritual hungers must, of necessity, create a race of mediocre individuals. It is not enough that our civilisation is based on right morality in the sense in which relations between human beings have been put on just and human basis. Relation between man and man is only one aspect of religion. Relation between man and something more than man is necessary. Man's relation to the Cosmic Source is the problem that has perplexed human beings in all ages. To say that behind this urge to understand the Primary Source of all creation is only an economic or class interest is surely to pervert one of the sublimest urges in human nature. Spirituality has been one of the finest expressions of human beings and largely it is this urge that has evoked divinity out of men and women living in this world. It is by recognising this urge and giving full scope to its expression that human civilisation can rise to its sublime heights. Bertrand Russell tells us:

"If life is to be fully human it must serve some end which seems, in some sense, outside human life, some end which is impersonal and above mankind, such as God or Truth or Beauty. Those who best promote life do not have life for their purpose. They aim rather at what seems like a gradual incarnation, a bringing into our human existence something eternal, something that appears to imagination to live in a heaven remote from strife and failure and the devouring jaws of Time."*

It is this 'bringing into our human existence something eternal' that must be fostered among men and women of our civilisation. A philosophy that aims at reconstruction of the world must include in its tenets this spiritual aspect of human life. The Socialist philosophy of Marx has entirely failed to provide this. While it has provided for the satisfaction of material needs, it has entirely neglected the fulfilment of spiritual desires in humanity. Anti-religious propaganda has become quite prominent in socialist movements. The very philosophy of socialism, as given by Marx, makes such a

* "Why men Fight"—B. Russell.

propaganda necessary and such an anti-religious attitude inevitable. A scientific socialist believing in religion and spiritual nature of man is acting contrary to the materialist interpretation of life, he is encouraging subjective illusions in place of objective realities. The duty of all Marxian Socialists is to oppose all religious propaganda in order to keep up the fever of revolution among large masses. They must emphasise the material side, the economic factor and resist all who try to wean away people from grim realities of material unhappiness to some 'religious absurdities' of spiritual living. Where people are traditionally very religious, there these Marxists have to carry on a very cautious and indirect propaganda against religion. But this resort to indirect attack does not mean that anti-spiritual attitude is not inherent in Socialist philosophy—it only means that scientific socialists are clever tacticians. And so, to say that the philosophy of Marxian Socialism has nothing to do with religion is to misrepresent facts. It has as much to do with religion as any other idealistic philosophy of life. If religion is an opium

of the people as said by Marxists, religion must be fought on all the fronts consistently with their assertions. And Marxism is really engaged in this. One must say that scientific socialists have failed to understand the conception of the real fulfilment of life which comes through the search for Spiritual Truths. It is herein that the seventh error of Marxian Socialism lies. Socialism without the guiding strength of spirituality will remain a passing phase of human civilisation; only as it is nourished and energised by lofty spiritual conceptions can it hope to become a stable social order. If organised religion has failed, a social philosophy must supply a new religion—a religion that not, only adjusts man's relation with man, but that enthuses its followers with 'something which is above mankind such as God or Truth or Beauty.' It is religion harnessed to the chariot-wheel of socialism that will help humanity to rise to a higher order of living. No doubt a new interpretation of religion is needed, but no less is it true that humanity needs today a new interpretation of socialism. This new Socialism energised by true Spirituality will be the instrument of ushering in an era of human happiness in this world. So

long as Scientific Socialism fails to grasp this fundamental reality, so long will it remain incomplete.

Thus we have seen that Marxian socialism has some of the most fundamental errors in its philosophy of social reconstruction. It is based on weak foundations, it is vitalised by dangerous activities, it is nourished by perverse emotional appeals, it is rooted in wrong scientific notions, it is guided by erroneous principles of social dialectics, it is inspired by a false outlook on life and it is incomplete, in as much as, it is not energised by spiritual powers. These are the fundamental drawbacks of Marxian Socialism. We shall have occasion to further discuss its drawbacks while considering the question of 'Methods of Social Change.' But let us not be unjust to Marxian Socialism. It must be conceded that it is an improvement on previous socialist thinking, in as much as, it has tried to analyse social forces and has emphasised the need of philosophical thinking. Let us also not be too harsh on Russia where an entirely new experiment of social reconstruction is proceeding

at a great pace. There are many admirable features in this experiment and there are great many things to the credit of the Russian communists. Their abolition of illiteracy among large masses of the Russian people, their idea of planned economy, their attempts at raising the material standard of living—these and other things are surely such as must evoke a great respect for the Communist Party of Russia. But one must beware of being too much enchanted by propagandist literature, that emanates from Communists all over the world. An atmosphere of cruel terrorism, a denial of healthy political activity to large masses, an inculcation of hatred and a nourishment of fear for the preservation of the Bolshevik power, suppression of independent thinking, a ruthless stifling of genius and talent, a materialistic outlook of life and a feverish attack on religion and spiritual pursuits of human beings—these and many others like them certainly go against Russia. And these factors are no mere accidents, they have their roots in the wrong philosophy of social reconstruction that these Bolsheviks have adopted. One comes to the conclusion

that although scientific socialists have been better planners, although they have gained in social analysis and understanding of details regarding the future order of society, they have, most assuredly, lost the nobility and loftiness that characterised the Utopians. They have certainly lost the ennobling motive power of religion which the Utopians possessed. It must be said that what they have gained in thought, they have lost in feeling. Bertrand Russell very briefly summarises the drawbacks of Marxian philosophy in the following words:

“If the Marxian dogma remains as virulent as it is at present, it must, in time become a great obstacle to intellectual progress. Already there are aspects of modern science which communists find it difficult to reconcile with their theology, for example, the views as to the atom to which Quantum Theory has led. The opinion that everything in human character has economic causes may, at any moment, come into violent conflict with science.Moreover the whole philosophy is so much concerned with the class struggle that it becomes vague and indefinite when it contemplates the classless world which it aims at creating.” *

* ‘Education and Social Order’—B. Russell.

But if Marxian Socialism has such drawbacks, what is the other philosophy of social reconstruction that can replace it and yet be free from all these errors? It is Theosophical Socialism that raises scientific socialism to a higher level—and not drag it back to Utopianism—and lifts it to the plane where socialism does not leave its scientific basis and yet retains its noble idealism. Theosophical Socialism supplies a far nobler philosophy than is done by Marxian Socialism. ‘Socialism is Fellowship’ declared William Morris and it is this human fellowship that Theosophical Socialism aims at establishing in this world.

Chapter III.

Principles of Theosophical Socialism.

“ The coming of Socialism means for the whole people a change of mind and heart and not merely a change of machinery, It means a conscious will towards equality and good fellowship that will stir the imagination of the young and make men and women ready and eager to work and sacrifice for their ideals. Without this impulsion behind it, socialism cannot be brought into existence and if without this we get socialistic changes in the machinery of society, we shall not therewith be getting socialism. For, Socialism is in its essence not mainly a gospel of mechanical efficiency, but a way of life.” *

G. D. H. Cole.

The modern world in its period of acute political, economic and social crisis has been faced to-day with innumerable schemes of reconstruction. Every dreamer, every social reformer is thinking of a way out of the perilous condition in which humanity finds itself, very

* ‘The Simple Case for Socialism—G.D.H.Cole,

pathetically involved. Numberless organisations are rising in every country of the world in order to render some service, some relief to hundreds and thousands of people suffering under the present order of society. Enormous efforts are being made every day to cross the devastating tide that has overtaken humanity, almost by painful surprise. Every man according to his temperament and inclination, according to his knowledge and experience, according to his analysis and understanding is proposing a way out of the present impasse. It is true that not all these schemes are sufficiently progressive. It is also true that some of them intend taking the evolution of humanity back to whence it has come. But let us not put them aside disrespectfully, with a waive of hand, not giving sympathetic consideration to what each of them suggests. It is possible that there might be a grain of truth underlying an apparently absurd proposal. It is the duty of those who profess to be scientific in their outlook to refrain from doing any injustice to any individual, however, quixotic and impractical visionary he might appear to them.

It behoves an idealist to respect his fellow-idealists, however much he may disagree with their dreams and visions. There are no cut and dried formulas applicable to the problems of social dis-equilibrium; social affairs are much more complicated than is generally supposed by social reformers, whether radical or conservative. And so the welfare of humanity demands they every social reformer shall weigh various schemes of social reconstruction in a very sensitive balance before proceeding to the task of social transformation. It is necessary that all those who are engaged in the task of social reconstruction should develop an attitude of mind very beautifully set forth by C. Jinarajadasa in the following words:

“Have an attitude of boundless sympathy to all who are reformers, who are dreaming of any kind of a re-fashioning. Never mind that they are antipathetic to you or that they seem to act contrary to your own most prized ideas of what is right and wrong. Whenever you see a man willing to suffer for an idea, then respect him. Whenever you find men working for a new world of thought and feeling and action, never mind the mistakes which they make but look with sympathy, with pity on

their mistakes and give your co-operation and warmest enthusiasm for the beauty of their ideals."

When one looks at the innumerable schemes of social reconstruction, one is amazed, confounded beyond his wits. There is a natural tendency to take sides rather than face the overwhelming flood of new ideas and schemes. More particularly is this the case now when people are almost fed on cheap propagandist pamphlets. Even those who profess to be ardent advocates of their particular scheme, seldom care to know what it exactly implies, what is the philosophy underlying it, what have its antagonists to say in opposition to it. A pitiable state of intellectual idleness and mental security has invaded almost all sections of humanity. People seem to be afraid of mental and intellectual shocks even more than violent earthquakes. And so, the world, already torn asunder by class and caste, by religion and colour, has further been divided by these warring champions of each scheme of social reconstruction, fighting with the advocates of others and creating an atmos-

phere of intolerance and hatred. It is high time the slogan of 'those who are not with us are against us' be discarded in the interests of humanity, for the healthy growth of social progress and for the realisation of happiness for all, with the least curtailment of individual freedom. And so, the necessity of approaching this problem of reconstruction with a new attitude of mind can never be too much emphasised.

The particular scheme of social reconstruction known as Socialism is not a product of recent years. Idealists from remotest ages have suggested schemes of social reforms more or less on socialist lines. That remarkable Greek philosopher Plato, four centuries before Christ, gave a vision of society, portrayed in his wonderful book the "Republic", embodying a Philosophical system which has served for admiration and discussion in all succeeding ages, inspiring many a socialist theory in later days. It was then that he gave the idea that in a society "One class not to be pre-eminently happy but the whole state as happy as possible."

Ever since then philosophers and social thinkers have suggested ways and principles of social organisation. We find Sir Thomas More giving his "Utopia" to the unhappy world he saw around him in the 15th Century after Christ. In his wonderful dream of Utopia he gave a remarkable keynote of ideal human society when he said: "No man hath anything yet every man is rich." And then we find numberless utopias and visions of society appearing in quick succession in country after country.....Christianopolis, the City of the Sun, a Voyage to Icaria, the New Christianity and the like. From eighteenth century onwards we come across writers with a definitely socialist bent and even radical in their approach to the problem of social organisation. Saint-Simon, Fourier, Proudhon, Louis Blanc, Robert Owen and many others are truly the forerunners of present-day socialists. Fourier very correctly sounded the note of a Socialist Society in his well-known words: 'From each according to his capacity, to each according to his labour, capital and talent.' H. W. Laidler in his remarkable book "History of Socialist Thought" says: "Saint-Simonism

is the first expression of the proletariat." Louis Blanc surely proclaimed the ideal of Socialism—now forgotten by modern socialists—in his remark: "The more a man can, the more he ought." "The control of man by man is oppression" declared Proudhon, the most remarkable radical utopian of the last century. Robert Owen is considered the last important link between the Utopians and the Scientific Socialists headed by Karl Marx. He is also a typical Britisher, the father of British Socialism, for Socialism in Great Britain has more or less followed his philosophy and methods. Robert Owen was neither an impractical utopian nor a rabid revolutionary for he relied on education, legislation and private initiative for the elimination of social mal-adjustments. And yet, he was not blind to social forces, for he said: "Only when consumption kept pace with production would un-employment and industrial crisis be eliminated." These efforts of building mental utopias have continued till our own days and have fascinated large number of idealists, inspiring them with a noble purpose of social organisation. The Modern Utopia, Looking Backward, Freeland, News

from Nowhere, A Crystal Age are some of the important later visions of social order portrayed by dreamers of our own age. H. G. Wells, one of the most outstanding visionaries of our times, very-correctly voices the opinion of Socialists in his Modern Utopia when he says: "To have free play for one's individuality is in the modern view the subjective triumph of existence." and advocates the de-limitation of "those spend-thrift liberties that waste liberty." And so, we find that Socialism has been preached by people from very far off times and it still remains the panacea of modern social reformers. Karl Marx and the Socialists that followed him have flooded the world with enormous socialist literature and it is no exaggeration to say that every social reformer of to-day is irresistibly surrounded by powerful socialist influences, moulding considerably his outlook and methods of work. And to-day we are faced with a host of socialisms, various types suggested and preached by its protagonists. Even their enumeration would tire out a lay-man. They include Utopianism, Marxism, Foureirism, Owenism, Revisionism of Bernstein, Orthodox Marxism,

Guild Socialism, Social Democracy, Fabianism, Syndicalism, Anarchism, Bolshevism, Menshevism, State Socialism, Professorial Socialism of Adolph Wagner and Prof. Schommler, Constructive Socialism of Rorty, Collectivism, Municipal Socialism, Douglas Credit Scheme, Bellamy's Socialism, Consumers' Cooperative, National Socialism, Leninism, Stalinism and so on and so forth. It is indeed true that large number of people have done furious thinking on this important problem of our age. It is not wrong to say that Socialism is the problem of our time and to neglect it would be tantamount to shutting our eyes against the most burning question with which humanity is faced to-day.

And yet when one looks at the long list of socialisms discussed in modern books, one is indeed surprised to find no mention of a man who gave socialism to the Aryan Races, some thousands of years before, a Man whose principles of Social and Economic Polity have stood the test of time in the country of the Mother Aryans, I mean Lord Vaivaswata Manu. Modern Socialists have shown a lack of scientific outlook, in as

much as, they have brushed aside the Laws of Manu considering it a book only of historical importance, not containing anything of practical value in present-day society. The division of Society among artisans, warriors and rulers or philosophers, suggested by Plato and the various "Personnas" of H. G. Wells have seemed palatable and even reasonable to quite a number of socialists or at least not worth ridiculing. But the Varnashrama of Manu has been very lightly put away, only because it has no glamour of modern terminology. Alone among socialist thinkers of modern times, Dr. Bhagvandas has incessantly emphasised the need for the consideration of Manu's code of social organisation, it is he who has tried to prove the superiority of Manu's Socialism to any of the recent Socialist theories, on the grounds of Sociology, Psychology, Political Stability and Economic Prosperity. When the world is madly rushing into all sorts of revolutionary experiments for the realisation of socialism, this calm philosopher of India has rendered a very remarkable service to the cause of humanity by lighting this torch of Manuism. He writes in his book on 'Ancient Versus Modern Scientific Socialism.'

"Manu has given us such a technique in his permanent (and not merely five-year or ten year or twenty-five year) Plan of the Individual life and the Social life in combination, for the whole of the Hindu race...the only systematic and complete plan (acted on also for millenia in India, though very defectively and perversely), that was known to history until Russian Communism was born which is in the stage of experiment as yet."*

There is no doubt that Lord Manu not only gave the lofty ideals to be aimed at by all Aryan Races, he also supplied minutest details of a Socialist structure of society. Theosophical Socialism takes unmistakable stand on the great principles enunciated by Manu, for it believes that Manu-ism is the only form of socialism suitable for Aryan civilisation and has unassailable faith that countries of the world will have to revert to the guiding principles of the Great Founder of the Aryan Race after passing through all sorts of experiments, wise and unwise as well. It is the purpose of Theosophical Socialism to cry a halt to the marching hosts of humanity before they take

* 'Ancient vs Modern Scientific Socialism—

Dr. Bhagvandas.

the road of suffering and disaster. It is this that has been done by Dr. Annie Besant through her innumerable orations, it is precisely this that has been attempted by Dr. Bhagvandas through his most illuminating writings. Socialist workers of the world are taking a blind plunge, if they neglect these attempts to revive Manuism, in a manner applicable to present-day society.

But a question might arise, wherein lies the superiority of Theosophical Socialism ? Does it not merely add one number to the many types of Socialisms preached and propagated in the world to-day ? Before we consider the actual principles of Theosophical Socialism we must have a true conception of the distinct source of its inspiration, its particular outlook on life through which these principles emanate, its broad basis on which it is founded. Let us consider this in contrast with Utopian and Marxian Socialisms. The Utopians that preceded modern Scientific Socialists were, as we all know, very bitterly disgusted with the social and economic conditions around them. To them the sight of human suffering was extremely painful. They were not able to analyse the social forces from

which most of the sufferings emanated. Being intensely religious themselves, they naturally concluded that violation of God-ordained laws was the only true cause of human suffering. From the solutions they suggested it is not difficult to see that they re-acted emotionally to the many social ills they saw around them. Being extremely sensitive to human sorrows and sufferings and unable to formulate logical analysis of social conditions, these Utopians sought comfort and delight in fantasies and fairy-lands created out of their imaginations, for their Utopias were at best escapes from pain and misery of the objective world into the happy lands of their imagination where every body was virtuous and where God-ordained natural order reigned supreme. Of course there have been differences in the remedies suggested by various Utopians of diverse nations, but it is not our intention here to trace the development and growth of Utopianism. Consideration of their reactions, in broad outlines, would be quite sufficient for us for the purposes of this book. And this general consideration would convince any one of the correctness of the above statement, that

these Utopians had an emotional reaction against social problems of their times. Even such radicals among the Utopians like Saint-Simon and Fourier have exhibited this trait, Saint-Simon seeks the solution of social suffering through religion—a sure index of emotional reaction—for he says: “Religion must aid society in its chief purpose which is the rapid improvement of the lot of the poor.” Fourier too exhibits the same characteristic while depicting the future social order when he says, “Social organisation which may give free play to our passions so that they may combine harmoniously.” It is true that some of the Utopian socialists did try to found small colonies based on mutual aid and co-operation, but such experiments were largely in the nature of seeking secluded happiness on the part of a few people who were disgusted with life around them—more an objectivisation of their fantasies than an attempt to transform the very basis of society; those were experiments of reverting to natural order so that those comprising these colonies might live in happiness and prosperity, away from the sinning world. From their indignation against machinery, the

advance of science and the rapid rise of cities, it is quite obvious that their model colonies were more in the nature of escapes than experiments for general application in society. To them the rise of capitalism in itself was a violation of natural laws for they could not understand the place of capitalism in the psychological development of nations. H. W. Laidler very rightly remarks: "They (Utopians) lacked historical perspective. They did not recognise historical mission of capitalism in increasing productivity etc." Even modern Utopians very remarkably show these traits of emotionalism, at least a large number of them... although they have more scientific and historical sense than their fellow utopians of the last century. H. W. Laidler says about them:

"They have a strong appeal to the imaginative and emotional side of human nature due to which many have joined socialist movements and allied activities for the uplift of the under-dog." *

From the Utopians if we proceed to consider Karl-Marx and present-day Scientific Socialists, we find enormous difference. While the

* 'History of Socialist Thought'—H. W. Laidler.

former were imaginative, emotional and even impulsive, we find the latter extremely analytical of social conditions, expert in theoretical assertions and certainly very cold and intellectual compared to the Utopians. Scientific Socialism is an intellectual reaction against the evils of capitalist society. For Marxian Socialists, inspiration to introduce socialism is chiefly derived, not from religious indignation nor from a desire to re-establish the rule of God-ordained Laws, but from their study of history, their desire for justice, their sense of analysis. They are not interested so much in the beautiful colours of Socialism as in its practicability, in its logical necessity and in its theoretical certainty. It is no wonder that they attach great importance to the perfection of socialist forms at times even at the expense of immediate happiness of the people, for it is the very nature of intellect to insist on formal perfection. In their enthusiasm to prove the correctness of their theories and doctrines, they have often become very narrow and even dogmatic, many times inadaptible to changing conditions and situations. While the Utopians

regarded the violation of natural laws as the only reason answerable for human sufferings, these Marxists believe that property and its private control are the sole causes of social unhappiness. While religion is the soul of Utopianism, history is the driving force of Marxism. While the Utopians evolved a philosophy of escape, the Marxian socialists have adopted a thoroughly materialistic outlook, resulting in their advocacy of political action to the exclusion of all other methods. The Materialistic Interpretation of History is the cornerstone of Marxism, for according to Marx "All social institutions are the result of growth and the causes of the growth are to be sought not in any idea but in the conditions of material existence." Marxism in its philosophical aspect is clearly an intellectual revolt against religious sentimentalities and thus aims at mental freedom of the individual from the shackles of religion and orthodoxy. But while it does this it sets up the authority of state and introduces political slavery in place of religious bondage. And so while Marxian socialism has been a distinct advance on Utopianism with regard to its analysis and historical

perspective, it has missed many of the healthy and wholesome features of Utopian Socialism. The emotional reaction of Utopianism has made it weak and sterile with regard to practice while Marxism, due to its cold intellectual reaction, has tended to eclipse socialist idealism with an over-emphasis on practical methods and material outlooks. Such indeed are the reactions, the outlooks and the inspirations of these two important schools of socialism,

There has been a third group of socialists called the Parliamentary Socialists existing in Great Britain, America and many of the European countries. While it is true that these parliamentary socialists have shown a distinct advance on methods adopted by Marxian Socialists, there have been a lack of clear philosophical thinking and driving force of intense idealism in this group. They are a lot of people very much interested in the constructive and positive side of socialism and have advocated legislative methods as the only effective means to achieve socialism. It might be said that they have a common-sense reaction against the chaotic

conditions of capitalism and hence have propagated gradual transformation of society through the restriction of economic activities harmful to society. And so, while this section has produced good practical administrators, it has failed to create missionaries in the cause of socialism owing to an absence of any coherent philosophy or robust idealism.

It is indeed in contrast with these three—the Utopian, the Marxian and the Parliamentary Socialisms that true merit of Theosophical Socialism can be considered, for Theosophical Socialism has a distinct philosophical, theoretical and practical position of its own. While it accepts some of the desirable elements of all the three and even of many other types of socialisms, it is clearly based on principles emanating from its noble philosophy. While it accepts the religious-mindedness of the Utopians it rejects the way of escape propounded by them; while it admires the dialectics of Marxian Socialism, it definitely takes its stand against the materialistic interpretation of history; while it adopts the constructive and positive appeal

of Parliamentary Socialists, it regards the method of legislation as incomplete. First and foremost the very basis of Theosophical Socialism is Human Brotherhood and all its principles, its methods and even its philosophy are inspired by this lofty idealism. What Mr. J. A. Hobson has written, in the introduction to the "Meaning of Socialism", very slightly approaches the conception of socialism as understood by Theosophy. He writes:

"In choosing words, one would say that the most profitable labour for socialism is in the field of humanism. If the term sounds a little precious or pedantic that cannot be helped. It can and ought to be rescued from these contemptuous implications. For it is wanted to express the need and demand that society shall be so transformed as to furnish for all its members a fully human life. From such a socialism there easily and inevitably falls away the charge of materialism based upon an over-stressing of distinctively economic conditions. the charge of regimentalism and loss of liberty based on magnifying the state and the charge of proletarian violence as the instrument of reform." *

* "The Meaning of Socialism"—J. B. Glasier.

Theosophical Socialism has an idealistic reaction to life and its problems. It regards the lack of a correct philosophy of life to be the main cause of human distress. Theosophical Socialism has a historical perspective even as Marxists have, but it reads in history not the material conditions as the cause of social growth, rather it regards the psychological development of humanity as the true maker of history. Behind the rise and fall of social systems, behind the hand of revolutions and reactions, behind the development of political and economic institutions, it sees the clear working of psychological consciousness of races, of nations, of society. It regards the materialistic interpretation of history as entirely incomplete to explain the various happenings in history, for this interpretation takes into account only the outer institutions and events in history. Theosophical Socialism on the contrary offers a psychological-evolutionary interpretation of history which explains every event from the standpoint of human consciousness, which is ultimately the determining factor of social progress. To Theosophists, Socialism means the objectivisation

of the social sense of humanity, and all efforts in this direction are bound to usher in an age of Socialism in the world. The whole demand for socialism has arisen in our age because of the subjective pressure of this social sense on human consciousness and all attempts to smother its coming out has resulted in all sorts of anti-social activities in present-day society. Socialism according to Theosophy is a new outlook on life,, a new way of living, a new relationship between human beings and not merely a social control of the means of production, distribution and exchange, The impetus to social change for Theosophical Socialism comes from the conception of the universality of life, from the exquisite idea of the Divinity of man, from the existence of a wonderful plan for races, nations and individuals as expounded by Theosophy. Theosophical Socialism believes that social change will not come by a reckless destruction of the capitalist order of society but by a gradual transformation through legislation, through education and still more through the inculcation of new ideals in humanity. Theosophy regards Socialism as

essentially a change of ideals. The idea to be inculcated, if socialism is to prosper, is that of duty, self-sacrifice, social responsibility. It was this ideal that Manu gave to the Aryan Race some thousands of years back and it still remains the ideal for human society. Manu's Socialism is fundamentally based on this ideal of Duty and nations of the world after all sorts of experiments will have to base their socialism on this same conception of Duty. The very foundation of Theosophical Socialism is social obligation, not individual rights. It aims at making every individual an ideal citizen and till that day arrives the task of Theosophical Socialism is incomplete. Theosophical Socialism provides for the development of a true spirit of citizenship because it believes that only in as much as human beings understand their responsibility to society can a happier order of society be born. And yet it does not regard objective environment as immaterial. For Theosophical Socialism asserts that failure to adjust social environment to the growing consciousness of humanity is bound to result in revolutionary destruction. It is the belief of Theosophical Socialism that all the various

socialist theories prevalent in the world lack a coherent philosophy of life; the task of Theosophical Socialism is to supply this, while it harmonises the socialist thoughts of the world. The particular uniqueness of Theosophical Socialism consists in the wonderful conception of man it gives to humanity. It must be said that socialists of the world are attempting to form an ideal human society without properly realising who are the human beings, what is the composition of man, what are the faculties latent in humanity. Theosophical Socialism, while it attempts at social transformation, appeals to the ideals of human beings, and not to the self-interest of any particular class. And while it recognises the possibility of social struggles, it raises them to the plane of ideals, rather than fight them with individual and class passions. Theosophical Socialism takes into account not merely the material but also the psychological, the spiritual and the cultural environment of the people. It believes that human society can really be sound only when human beings are placed in proper environment both material and non-material so that, not a part, but the whole of the human

being might fully develop. It is the purpose of Theosophical Socialism to supply this environment and so it has a more comprehensive plan of social organisation than any suggested by modern socialists of various shades. Material happiness of the people is no doubt included in its programme but it forms only one of its planks, the realisation of which, would give economic stability to coming social order. But Theosophical Socialism does not believe that all other planks can be advocated only after the material happiness of the people is realised; on the contrary, it believes that propagation of other planks of socialism will have a considerable effect on the realisation of the material prosperity of masses. It is not incorrect to say that Theosophical Socialism begins where modern Scientific Socialism ends. In view of the furious propaganda carried on by Scientific Socialists regarding the material side of socialism it has become necessary to emphasise the other far more important aspects of socialism, in order to retain its lofty ideals, out of which alone better social order can be built. It has fallen to the lot of Theosophical

Socialism to perform this important task. George Lansbury, the erst-while leader of the British Labour Party has drawn the attention of his country-men to this aspect of socialism in his book: "My England." He writes:

"Bread and butter or its equivalent we all must have. Our betrayal of each other is caused by the struggle for these things; but they are the baginning, not the end of life. We do not live by bread alone even though we must have bread. I cannot too often make it clear to all that it is impossible for me even to imagine a socialist society based merely on the supply of material needs." *

And yet we find modern Socialists trying to base their socialist structure 'merely on the supply of material needs.' It is here that Theosophical Socialism offers a spiritual outlook of life, along with the psychological-evolutionary interpretation of history which supplies the true understanding of social forces. It derives its inspiration from the wonderful philosophy of Theosophy which makes all life intelligible and which offers a noble idealism to all humanity. It does not ask an individual to fit into socialist

* 'My England' G. Lansbury.

machinery, it on the contrary demands of human institutions to adjust themselves to socialised individuals. For to socialise the consciousness of the people is surely the object of Theosophical Socialism. Before all idealists, all reformers, all visionaries, Theosophical Socialism places the following ideal, the practice of which would make socialism safe in this world:

“ While there is a poorer class I am of it: while there is a criminal class, I belong to it; while there is a soul in jail, I am not free. ”

Having thus considered the aims and objects, the sources of inspiration, the impetus to social change, the philosophical background, the theory of psychological-evolutionary interpretation of history, the noble idealism, with regard to Theosophical Socialism, contrasting it with other schools of socialist thought, let us now proceed to the discussion of actual principles on which it stands.

Firstly, Theosophical Socialism asserts that the future social order should be built on the principle of : **Equitable Material Environment, Producing General Physical Happiness For**

All. This is the principle of **Economic stability**. This principle aims at 'an equitable distribution of work, wealth and leisure' in society among all its citizens. It is intended to "minimise the evils of unregulated frantic competition" in economic activities present in modern society. It is a principle advocating Planned Economy in social organisation with a view to eliminating all waste and destruction in the production of economic goods. Theosophical Socialism asserts that economic stability of any society can rest not on gross inequalities, not on rigid equality but unmistakably on an equitable distribution of material wealth. This equitable distribution means nothing more than a better co-ordination of our collective life. And with machinery and science at our disposal it should not be difficult to so organise the economic activities of our society as to secure general physical happiness to all its citizens. Poverty is indeed an anachronism in our age and the existence of poverty amongst plenty is nothing but an exhibition of social stupidity. Material plenty and leisure are within our grasp and it requires a little more intelligent planning to enable all to have them. It is incorrect to

assert that only a social revolution can achieve this. The dangers inherent in revolutionary methods will be discussed in the next chapter but suffice it to say here that large masses of people demand only a better social and economic environment while leaving their individual lives as free as possible. Masses have never relished the idea of being regimented for work and other social ends. Attempts at introducing this are bound to result in a reaction by the masses against the social order that imposes it, producing anti-social habits like sabotage, idleness, shirking of work etc. The general mass of humanity living at the level of social sensation do never care to know what form of social organisation is presented to them; they have one interest, security of stable physical existence with as much of instinctive freedom as possible. To have freedom to grow within the sunshine of social environment is their one and principle demand. The modern society no doubt gives freedom to the masses but, without the accompanying environmental stability, this freedom is more a tragic cruelty than an acquisition for them. The solution does not consist in going

to the other end, giving stability but denying freedom; it rather consists in assuring physical happiness while preserving this freedom of instinctive living. It is because of this that Theosophical Socialism intends creating economic stability through the measures that are 'democratic, gradual, ethical, and peaceful in character' so that the elimination of the struggle for physical existence would not jeopardize individual freedom of the masses. The first principle of Theosophical Socialism finds itself in substantial agreement with the post-war manifesto of the British Labour Party which declares:

"We are for a new social order based on a deliberately planned co-operation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand and brain, based not on the utmost inequality of riches but on a systematic approach to a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person born into the world."

Theosophical Socialism intends granting this equitable environment consisting of healthy equality of material circumstances by "Controlled Capitalism" gradually transforming itself to Socialist basis

of society. It aims at achieving this by the (1) provision of leisure for masses by reducing hours of work to a minimum, by (2) extending the scope of social legislation, by (3) national control of land and other economic activities producing necessities of life through compensation, by (4) International control of finance and banking and by (5) encouraging co-operative movements. These are the efforts to mitigate the evils under which large masses suffer, while the whole social outlook of the people is being changed through other measures, to be enumerated hereafter in consideration of various principles of Theosophical Socialism. These and similar attempts, it is true, do not mean socialism, but their sole purpose is to create suitable environment in which masses might grow at ease, while other efforts are being made and while the whole humanity is being prepared to receive socialism. Theosophical Socialism lays especial stress on the nationalisation of land and international control of finance and banking. Dr. Annie Besant has emphasised this public control of land in her innumerable lectures on World Problems and

Political Science. Under the scheme of Manu's social organisation, land was a common property, never an individual possession. The land of the village belonged to the villagers **as a Community**. Mr. C. Jinarajadasa stresses this point of nationalisation of land in his book:—"Meeting of the East and the West" in the following words:

"every social reformer finds sooner or later that the ownership of land by private individuals means power by them over the people, directly or indirectly. Private individuals now own the land. By privilege or by industry it is possible to make a corner in land. That is how a small owner becomes a large one. The ownership of the land gives power especially over the destiny of masses who have no capital and whose life depends on employment by those who are controlling capital. It is becoming more and more recognised that the economic slavery of the workers is bound up with the land problem and that only by nationalising the land can masses find an economic stability."

Dr. Besant in her Book: " Shall India Live or Die ? " while depicting the ancient social system in India, says: " The village system also

provided against poverty, for the communal holding of land did away with the helpless poverty of "land-less men." While speaking on the problem of war in the Latin American Countries in 1928, Mr. C. Jinarajadasa again said:

"I do not believe we shall finally disarm war, till we have a reform of the banking system of the world. International finance is one element which contributes to war or to -- Peace. And I believe too, in order to bring peace in to the heart of each citizen, a great change will have to take place in the present conception of the ownership of land."

It is no exaggeration to say that Theosophical Socialism is essentially a land-socialism. And yet it does not stop there. It wants all the profiteering done by private individuals, in the production of the necessities to stop, for it is this that very largely contributes to the existence of poverty in this world. Overproduction and under-consumption exist together only because there are people who regard their profits as more important than the lives of masses and there is no doubt that this unrestricted pro-

fitteering will be stopped by state legislation. But beyond the control of profiteering in necessities, Theosophical Socialism asserts that there is no need to go further. It must not be forgotten that our purpose is to create an economic stability for the satisfaction of physical comfort for the masses. If necessities of life are made available to them through social legislation, there is no reason why an immediate complete destruction of capitalism should be insisted upon, for this destruction would mean such catastrophic changes as would make impossible the introduction of non-material side of socialism. Bertrand Russell, the most outstanding social thinker of our times, writes:

“ The total abolition of private capitalistic enterprise which is demanded by Marxian socialism, seems scarcely necessary. Most men who construct sweeping systems of reforms like most of them who defend status quo, do not allow enough for the importance of exceptions and the undesirability of rigid system. Provided the sphere of capitalism is restricted and a large proportion of the population are rescued from its dominion, there is no reason to wish it wholly abolished. * ”

And so Theosophical socialism through the effective control of capitalism intends to create economic stability for the masses, so that the way to socialism may be made easier. Theosophical Socialism regards non-material aspects of socialism as really more important than the material ones, but it realises that an atmosphere for the consideration of these higher modes of socialism ought to be created at first through this material stability. But while Theosophical Socialism negatively restricts the evils of capitalism by the above considered means, it positively encourages people to assemble and gather in co-operative work. It is not necessary here to go into details of various co-operative activities. Dr. Kagava, the well-known labour leader and social worker of Japan, very aptly said that co-operative movement will eliminate war, depression, unemployment, poverty and misery. He is a co-operative pacifist, who according to him, is giving his energies, "Laying economically and socially, just foundations for future peace."

And so by controlled capitalism and co-operation does Theosophical socialism hope to

lay the foundations of future society in which the ideal of human brotherhood shall find its highest expression. Theosophical Socialism declares that while these masses have a right to demand material stability from the state and society, the latter too, enjoin upon them a social duty of adjusting themselves to this environment by refraining from all anti-social habits, the duty of satisfying their physical needs without in any way harming the social atmosphere of humanity. Material happiness will be theirs only in as much as they perform this small social duty enjoined upon them, for Theosophical Socialism as noted above takes its stand on the principle of duty and expects every man to perform his duty in accordance with his social position. And so Theosophical Socialism declaring this proviso, is intent upon engaging itself in all efforts not only shown above but others as well, at establishing material stability provided they do not go counter to the spirit underlying it. Madame Blavatsky in her "Key to Theosophy" has very clearly explained the attitude of Theosophists with regard to this. She writes:-

"All Theosophists are only too sadly aware, that in Occidental countries especially, the social condition of large masses of the people renders it impossible for either their bodies or their spirits to be properly trained, so that the development of both is thereby arrested. As this training and development is one of the express objects of Theosophy, the Theosophical Society is in thorough sympathy and harmony with all true efforts in this direction."

Secondly, Theosophical Socialism declares that healthy growth of future social organism shall rest on the principle of **Full Liberty to participate in Civic Activities in accordance with Wisdom and Ability**. This is the principle of **Planned Activity**. It asserts that every citizen, as he enjoys material stability and personal physical happiness, desires to engage himself in activities useful to society. The urge to activity is inherent in all men, but where social circumstances do not guarantee material stability, this active urge of men naturally finds channels harmful to social existence. The purpose of material stability is to insure society against all destructive activities. Political franchise has been one of the ways of giving expression to this active urge of men in

modern times. But owing to unstable economic conditions, this franchise has been much abused and prostituted by controllers of the economic destinies of masses, by industrialists and financiers. Pocket boroughs and rotten boroughs are not matters of history, they are existing in our own times. Capitalists and financiers have deliberately kept all those who depend upon them for material existence in ignorance of civic matters. Propertied classes have always been afraid of literacy and instruction among masses. All vested interests have regarded mass instruction as a danger to their very existence. Not only that this franchise has enabled political adventurers seeking power to exploit the ignorance of the people for the realisation of their own ends. And so political franchise intended to give liberty of civic action to people has resulted: in their enslavement in political matters, being forced to support civic activities whether out of ignorance or material necessity. And so Political franchise has failed to develop social responsibility among citizens. Consequent upon this mockery of civic liberty, there has grown a bitter reaction against democracy which is

fundamentally based on this franchise. Failure of democracy has drawn ever-increasing number of people to regard it as useless and favour some form of dictatorship as the truest instrument of solving human problems. But this is hardly fair to democracy. It is no exaggeration to say that humanity has not yet tried democracy, that all efforts so far made in the direction of democracy were half-measures, not based on wisdom and human psychology. Failure of democracy in the nations of the world has been due to two main reasons: (1) Political responsibility has not been followed by economic responsibility or in other words political liberty has been accompanied by economic enslavement or in still other words political democracy has not been founded on material stability and (2) democracy has not been able to find right sort of persons owing to an entirely faulty system of franchise. The first principle of Theosophical Socialism removes the first obstacle to the successful working of democracy, extending political liberty to the domain of economics. The purpose of this second principle is to remove another obstacle so that real democracy may be esta-

blished in the world. There is no doubt that democracy has been groping after right sort of persons as rulers and administrators and it is failure to find them that has induced many people to install either an individual or a party in dictatorship. But the experiences of such dictatorships have been of a very sad nature, for these dictators have not proved to be right persons, for which people have been groping. The solution does not lie in suppression of civic activities but in their wise regulation. This is exactly what Theosophical Socialism suggests by its second principle. Just as the first propounded controlled capitalism so does the second advocate wisely regulated democracy. And the regulative factors of democracy ought to be wisdom and ability or experience. And so it is new Democracy that Theosophical Socialism suggests, the democracy that would regulate the activities of people with a view to cultivating initiative among citizens. What is the basis of this new Democracy? It was President Lincoln who gave the ideal of democracy to the world by his now famous words: "Government of the people, by the people, for the people". It is

this doctrine that has been observed more in breach than in practice, by modern democracies. For they have been Governments of a class, by a class, for a class and this class has been of business magnates and financiers. People often think that granting of universal adult franchise means democracy. But the franchise, that is not followed by instruction and knowledge, can hardly enable people to utilise their votes wisely. Nor is it possible for average men and women to understand the intricacies of modern governmental policies. To expect people to exercise their votes with discrimination when issues like protection and free trade, gold standard and managed currency, nationalisation of banking and industries are involved, is either to build the edifice of democracy on sands or to keep up political dishonesty. Democracy that is based on mere majority or counting of heads can never succeed for the very reason that it is a Government founded on ignorance on the one hand and exploitation on the other. What the world needs to-day is a democracy guided and ruled by wisdom and ability. it needs a democracy controlled by experts. The right to rule is not

granted to all, it has to be won by wisdom and experience, declares Theosophical Socialism. It is a wonder that people have not yet realised the fundamental error in modern democracies. Whoever commands a majority of votes cast by persons ignorant of political matters is allowed to rule and mismanage national affairs. Whoever can throw lavish promises before ignorant masses is returned with overwhelming majority, having been given full liberty to drag his nation into dangerous waters. This is nothing short of madness and there is no reason why such democracies should succeed. Dr. Besant in one of her London Lectures on World Problems in 1925 said:—

“ You do not let a doctor play with your body, until he has passed through a careful course of training in medicine whatever it may be worth--and other forms of modern medical science. You do not let the quack play with your bodies; but you do not seem to mind how many quacks you have in your political field. It does not seem to strike you that while you do not let cabin boys elect the captain of the vessel, requiring that he should know something of the science of navigation, you make no such demand for the steering of your Ship of

State through difficult storms and difficulties where knowledge and skill are wanted."

But this does not mean that some persons thinking themselves to be experts should capture the machinery of state and rule their countries with iron disciplines. There have been people who have done this, seeing the sad plight of their national affairs under weak and hesitant democratic governments, and Mussolini is the most remarkable instance of this. But Theosophical Socialism does not suggest that politics of a country be carried back to the days of irresponsible autocracies. On the contrary it advocates refashioning of democracy so that it might be safe and would lead humanity to a happier state of affairs. Theosophical Socialism asks for the retention of the rule of the people and yet it wants it to be regulated by putting the wise and the experienced in places of power. How is it to be done? How can a fool-proof democracy be established? In the following words Dr. Besant proposes the basis for such a democracy:

"The general idea is that each should have

power according to his knowledge and capacity. None should be without some share, but the power he has should be limited to his knowledge, experience, and capacity; and only those should rule the nation who have won their spurs in good administration of national affairs. In this way we should restore to the state something of the knowledge that it wants and we should take away from the state the danger of allowing a mass of ignorant electorate who are really fighting to elect a man, who will look after their mines, their drains, their local interests, matters they understand—to upset international arrangements and possibly plunge us into war—or worse into dishonour.” *

The idea of this democracy is to grant universal franchise to all adult citizens in the affairs of the smallest unit of Government, say a village. Thus a village council is fully democratic elected by all the citizens in a village knowing well the capacities of various candidates as also problems that they are expected to tackle as members of the village council. It is thoroughly controlled by people. This was what Manu provided in his scheme of social orga-

* ‘ Future Socialism ’—Dr. Besant.

atisation. Dr. Besant in her book "Shall India Live or Die?" writes:

"The village affairs were administered by a Panchayat, a council elected annually by the villagers; if the village were large it divided itself into committees, and each superintended a department such as Justice—to which I notice a woman was elected—Irrigation, Roads and so on."

This village democracy gave to the people a wonderful training not only in the art of Government but also in social responsibility. People of a village regarded its welfare as a concern of all. Whatever occupation an individual might be following, the village Government could always rely upon the services of all, in matters of common interest. Dr. Besant remarks in her 'Lectures on Political Science' "A very important part of village life was the free labour given for common purpose. Roads, temples, tanks, wells, water channels, public buildings were made by co-operative labour." So Manu's Socialism not only gave material stability to people, it gave also fullest expression to the active urge of masses by providing opportunities in accordance with their ability,

experience, and knowledge. Dr. Annie Besant in her "Commonwealth of India Bill", the Bill that passed first reading in the British Parliament, advocates this very principle to be made applicable to modern conditions. Having granted universal franchise to all adult citizens in a village, she proposes an introduction of graded franchise. As we ascend higher and higher in units of Government higher and higher must be the qualification of franchise based on education and knowledge. Not only that, those offering themselves for election to councils of higher units must satisfy the test of experience, that is they must have served in lower councils for a number of years. For the election of national council not all are allowed to vote, but only those who have satisfied the necessary qualifications of knowledge and ability to understand national problems, and only those are put at the helm of national affairs who have rendered services to village, district and provincial councils, that is only those who have an experience of Government and are worthy of being entrusted with the powers of ruling over a nation. It is this principle of graded franchise that will find out real

persons, fit to govern and thus make democracy fool-proof, as much fool-proof as is possible in human societies. It is this principle that will make Governments fully democratic by giving a share in its affairs to all the citizens and yet by distributing power and rights in accordance with knowledge and experience. This is the new Democracy of Experts advocated by Theosophical Socialism. The need for rule by experts is being felt by all honest political thinkers, especially when the affairs of modern Governments have become very complicated, beyond the intelligent grasp of ordinary citizens. This new democracy is not based on the absurd idea of equality of rights and powers but on a graded and hierarchical division of the same. This is the only reasonable solution of our political problems and an only way of giving a healthy expression to the active instincts of humanity. Democracy as at present constituted is meaningless, democracy broad-based on economic stability also is not sufficient for that would still fail to find right sort of men to govern. Aristocratic Democracy is what the world needs to-day, aristocratic not in the sense of heredity but in the

sense of experience and wisdom, in the sense of ability and breadth of vision. Socialism based on mass ignorance might give economic stability to people because of the expropriation of property, but it can never raise society to a higher level of development. Socialism based on obedience to wisdom can alone take society to heights, loftier and grander than that which it has reached so far. This socialism is permeated with the ideal of duty for it requires every man to be responsible for every action of his. The modern citizen in present-day society is required to passively acquiesce in all civic activities, the citizen under Theosophical Socialism is required to be active, in accordance with his understanding and ability. Dr. Annie Besant puts before us an ideal of Theosophical Socialism in the following words :-

"A democratic Socialism controlled by majority votes, guided by numbers can never succeed. A truly Aristocratic Socialism controlled by Duty, guided by wisdom is the next step upwards in civilisation." *

Thirdly, Theosophical Socialism asserts that the future social order can grow and flourish only

*** * * Future Socialism '—Dr. Besant.**

on the **cultivation of Constructive impulses, strengthening all in bonds of Love and Fellowship.** This is the principle of **Refined and Civilised Impulses.** Modern society with all its boast of civilisation and progress is still following the law of the jungle in its political, economic and social activities. This is a world of clashes, between classes, between sexes, between nations, between races. It is a world madly rushing after the search for food and assertion of rights. The struggle for food, where food is in abundance, is utterly laughable, if not scandalous. But with this anomalous war for food, is another war going on in society, the war for the assertion of individual rights. And this war is very largely due as noted above to the failure of **society** to find suitable channels for the expression of active energies of humanity. But with these two guaranteed, with material stability secured and with individual rights planned and regularised, there is no reason why wars should exist in society. And yet will they remain, so says human psychology and also Theosophical Socialism, so long as the emotional life of people remains unorganised.

It is not enough that people are materially happy, it is not sufficient that they are active in society, what is still of greater importance is that social impulses should be well-ordered and directed, that human emotions be refined and civilised. A citizen is not a true citizen so long as his emotional life runs counter to the interests of humanity. Bertrand Russell very truly says: "It is the life of impulse that needs to be changed, not only the life of conscious thought." If the coming social order is really to prosper by the elimination of wars, it will have to solve this important problem, the problem that is ignored by all politicians and even social reformers. A society based either on the suppression of natural desires and impulses of humanity or on intensified anti-social and disintegrating emotions is digging its own grave, and will be razed to dust, sooner or later. It is high time our social reformers recognised that the cultivation of human emotions is a matter of as much importance, or even more, as the fulfilment of material needs of humanity. Socialism that left these in a chaotic and unorganised condition can never claim to be called a truly

human society. Modern society is bad because it has entirely neglected the emotional organisation of society, save in cases of war, when patriotic emotions are roused to such a dangerous pitch that men consider it their duty to murder their fellow-men. Capitalism with its slums and poverty has led large masses to suppress their natural desires and many a complication has arisen in present-day society due to the unfulfilled desires of these masses. Even Russia, the home of socialist experiment, has very grievously failed in the recognition of this emotional aspect of humanity. Bolsheviks in their over-zeal for socialism ruthlessly suppressed all family instincts in Russia. The family-instinct was considered bourgeois, a capitalist sentimentalism, unworthy of proletarians. They failed to understand that home and family impulses are fundamental instincts of human beings. It is the duty of state and society to so organise these impulses that they would harmonise well with social welfare. The Bolsheviks feared that if Russian masses developed family feelings, they would create forces unsympathetic to the building up of a Socialist Society. The existence of this fear was due to the fact

that although the Russian masses had created a socialist revolution, their instincts, their impulses, their natural bent of living were quite anti-social. And so, to safe-guard the revolutionary gains, the rulers of Russia put a severe ban on all family impulses. A government, not sure of its foundations, always resorts to the method of suppressing human impulses, even as the Italian autocracy, of the last century, tried to ban all independent thinking. It is here that the Bolsheviks have committed one of the gravest errors. It is gratifying to note that they have realised this mistake in the year 1936, for it is said that masses have demanded a stable family life and the Russian Government have decided to grant and to encourage it. Under the new dispensation, it has been ordained that even divorce will be made difficult, that artificial methods of birth-control shall be discouraged, that families with large number of children will get encouragement from the state. But it is a pity that Russia should have introduced narrow nationalistic elements while recognising this fundamental instinct of humanity, for it seems she is treading the path of Germany, Italy, and

France by encouraging the creation of a large cannon-fodder for the defence of revolution. But this is by the way.

The Father of the Aryan Race was a great psychologist, for he knew the various impulses of human beings and provided for their healthy growth. According to Manu, the prosperity of a society very largely depended upon stable and happy family life. Family was the unit of society. Family was the one place where human beings learned to live for others, to humanise their impulses, to refine their emotions. A man feeling unity with family was on the way to develop larger unity with humanity. Manu's socialism was thus based on sublimated impulses of human beings because of their training in family life. Dr. Bhagvandas very rightly says:

“Every true home is a moral laboratory, and every child is a potent apparatus for transmuting the base metal of the self-seeking animal man and animal woman into self sacrificing father and mother, collaborating in the spirit of the best and highest socialism for the benefit of the younger generation and therefore of the whole society.” *

* Ancient vs Modern Scientific Socialism—Dr. Bhagvandas.

And so Theosophical Socialism asserts that healthy and stable family life be encouraged in society in order that human impulses might take constructive channels of expression. A happy family life is truly a sure antidote against all wars, and even destructive activities. Theosophical Socialism no doubt makes all citizens active but while it does this, it also controls these activities by proper direction of the emotional life of people.

But a happy family is not all that Theosophical Socialism advocates. It is not an end in itself. Happy family life must mean a better humanity. Family life is noble and great but nobler and greater is still the service of humanity. To enjoy family life is not the ideal placed before humanity. Family must exist for society. It must train its members to become better citizens, it must educate them to regard all humanity as one family. Obedience to wisdom, as considered in second principle, is not possible till all regard each other as members of one family, and respect those elders in wisdom and experience in society as they do in family. Be it remembered that it is not terrorism, nor repression, nor severe legislation that

can hold the society together. It might do for some time. Even dangers of foreign invasion and fear of losing privileges might keep a society together for a brief period, just as they are doing in Russia today. But it cannot hold together for ever. The modern society is based on the institutions of fear, the society as contemplated by revolutionary socialists will rest on organised hatred. The society founded on domination of one class over another is certainly a society that stifles all finer emotions, no matter whether class domination is of the capitalist or of the proletariat. Such societies can continue only by fear and cruelty. A Society that needs its best men to be exiled or executed as Russia has done to Trotsky and Zinovieff, is a society that will never inspire its citizens to develop a healthy and generous emotional life. Such a society may rouse its citizens to great enthusiasm for building up their nation as a bulwark against all attacks from foreign as well as home reactionaries. But this hardly differs from the narrow nationalistic excitements of Hitlers and Mussoliniis. The reason that it is done in the name of Socialism

does not minimise the harm that is done to its citizens. The irresponsible releasing of destructive emotional forces in society are bound to recoil upon those who have generated them, apart from the degradation and demoralisation into which it throws vast number of ignorant people. Theosophical socialism, realises as it does the dangers of these destructive emotional forces, stipulates on all social reformers that they shall, not only abstain from all such releasings but will also, enthuse and inspire large masses with positive and constructive impulses. If economic well-being is the stability of future society, if planned activity is the very health of it, this emotional refinement is undoubtedly the heart of Theosophical socialism. A mere change in outward structure of society is not enough, a change of impulses is a fundamental condition of future happiness of society. It is because of this that Theosophical Socialism does not appeal to a class but to all humanity. It aims not at founding a class society, it rather strives to establish a human society. And it is impossible to build this society as long as people have not adopted a human outlook, as long as they have not

stepped out of their class interests. It is true that poverty-stricken masses can never easily get out of their class bias. But then to foster a definite class bias is certainly not a way to establish human society. People have to be gradually taught to adopt a human outlook. For socialism, is not merely a supply of physical needs and provision of material happiness. It is an order of society and those aiming at that must take into account all the forces that contribute towards its existence. It is due to this that Theosophical socialism talks of providing as much stability of material happiness as possible within the present society, while it works for the inauguration of socialism by methods that are comprehensive and rational. George Lansbury, an experienced leader in the cause of socialism, very truly remarks:

" I am in politics a Socialist, one who helps to obtain a majority of Socialists in Parliament. I think however that before our majority will be of any value, the outlook on life which the vast masses of people follow and obey must be changed." *

Theosophical Socialism says that it is the outlook of fellowship, of humanity that must

* 'My England'—G. Lansbury.

be developed if socialism means to prosper. Emotions and impulses form the very heart of society and every care must be taken to see that the blood that runs through the heart is absolutely pure if the social organism is not to collapse. And hence not hate and class consciousness but brotherhood and human fellowship must remain the inspiring doctrines of socialism. Socialism that is inspired by the former will need the instrument of fear and state cruelty for its continuance, the Socialism that adopts the latter will march from glory to glory by the very reason of intense cordial human relationships that it would create. Theosophical Socialists very firmly believe in the following assertion of one of the greatest living Theosophists, Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, and try to propagate that ideal whether the world accepts it to-day or not:—

“ The future is in the hands of those who believe in brotherhood for, Brotherhood is the reflection of the Time-spirit who is dwelling in our midst.” *

Fourthly, Theosophical Socialism maintains that the future social order can attain to great

* ‘ Life—More Life’—C. Jinarajadasa.

heights only by the **Proper Development of Individual Constituent Parts** harmonising with the **Collective Good of Humanity**. This is the principle of **Balanced or Socialised Individuality**. Looking at the evils in society, radical social reformers in all ages have tried to solve these problems by swinging the pendulum to the other extreme. Realising the evils of gross inequalities in society, radical socialists have advocated rigid uniformity in social organisation. To them individualism has meant the death of Socialism. It is true that unrestricted individualism has in modern society run riot, it has created social anarchy, it has nourished personal gains at the expense of public good. But then it cannot be denied that this individualism was a progressive stage in the growth of society from the one that preceded it. If capitalism is an advance in society from the pre-capitalist modes of production, then individualism, which is but an off-shoot of capitalism must necessarily be a progressive stage in society from the slavery that went before it. And just as socialists are not in favour of scrapping machinery which is the soul of

Capitalism, so must they not try to kill individualism, but harness it to the interests of society. "Only individuals have a sense of responsibility" declared Nietzsche, the great German Philosopher. And he is right for it is a psychological law that without the development of strong individuality, the growth of social responsibility is utterly impossible. Socialism can therefore triumph only when it fosters a spirit of "individuality" among its citizens. It is foolish to believe that society consists of people all at the same level of progress. There is a Law of Evolution which maintains that human beings are at various levels of psychological advancement, and that therefore their reactions to life and social environment can never be of the same nature. Attempts at imposing uniformity in society in spite of this law are destined to fail for none can defy the laws of nature. True Socialism is an improvement in social organisation because it works in harmony with natural laws. Hence all barrack-uniformities are quite contrary to the spirit of true socialism. Sydney Olivier of the Fabian Society very appropriately said : "Socialism is individualism rationalised." Success of Socia-

lism will depend upon its ability to evolve a form of social organisation which can harmonise individuality with human happiness. Let all socialists give their earnest attention to the following law of nature explained by Herbert Spencer, for it is verily the law of social progress. It says :

“Nature evolves from disorder to order, from chaos to cosmos, not by a series of like parts simply placed in juxtaposition but by one whole made up of unlike parts but mutually dependent.”

Theosophical Socialism applies this law of nature to the field of society. Although modern scientific socialists do not recognise the Law of human Evolution, although they do not realise the necessity of individualism for the proper growth of socialism, although their conceptions of society and human beings are very simple and unscientific, there is no doubt that they will realise their mistakes ere long. But Manu was a great sociologist, a perfect psychologist, a profound statesman. He realised that society was not so simple as many consider it today. He knew that society was all diversity and that the function of a social reformer was to organise these diversities

into a social unity so that various individual notes might not disturb the harmony of social music. His scheme of social organisation is a wonderful plan of balancing all social forces. He aimed not at a class-less society but a society in which classes are perfectly harmonised. It is indeed true that Manu's socialism was a harmonious balance of social classes, not a domination of one class over another nor abolition of all classes, but a proper distribution of the powers and functions of all classes, the mutual inter-dependence of which contributed to the richness of society. He was a physician of the first order marvellously healing the wounds of society. For his scheme meant a perfect growth of all the diverse functions of body politic, so that general health of society was never impaired. Dr. Bhagvandas rightly observes:—

“ All the parts of the social, as of the individual organism must be duly nourished and must be well-proportioned to each other. There must not be lop-sidedness, as there is sure to be, if any one part is over-nourished,” *

* ‘Ancient vs Modern Scientific Socialism-Dr. Bhagvandas,

It is the denial of this law that has led communists to advocate total abolition of classes and found a socialist society on classless basis. The Bolsheviks in Russia did try to do away with all classes but then it was only an extreme swing of the pendulum and it is idle to imagine that the pendulum can stay there. The Bolsheviks have at last realised their error although they still assert that classless society is their aim. The practice of Russian Communism has proved the incorrectness of this theory. Mr. C. Jinarajadasa writes:—

“At one sweep all were made equal, when the Bolsheviks triumphed. The aristocrats and administrators were killed or fled and hid themselves among the masses; the thinkers and creators in science, art and literature disappeared, the bourgeoisie was wiped out. All became “Comrades” of one caste. But very quickly inequality appeared. The first new caste to spring up was that of the military and the administrators, who called the populace “Comrades” but ruled them. But the strangest phenomena in Bolshevik Russia is the revival of the Brahmana class. These were the thinkers and the teachers of the nation, the professors, artists and writers of Russia, who were unfit for any military or commercial career, and with the

coming of Bolshevism were slowly beginning to die of starvation. By a curious set of circumstances these have been collected together and housed in two institutions, the 'House of Science' and the 'House of Art and Literature' in Petrograd.*

But this does not in the least mean that Theosophical Socialism wants the perpetuation of present economic classes. What it desires to maintain is the recognition of differences of functions and faculties among human beings and organisation of society in a manner that gives full scope to individuals to develop their faculties within the functional class to which they belong. What needs to be abolished is the conception of highness and lowness in connection with these classes, the conception of honour and dishonour with regard to them. What Theosophical Socialism asserts is the organisation of society on functional basis and the least infringement by one class into the spheres of another. Failure to apply this principle would assuredly result in socialism developing worst features of bureaucratic Governments. And this is the danger facing all the schemes of modern socialism, for almost all of them advocate too

* 'Meeting of the East and the West' C. J.

much state control and state interference in social and economic matters. The state must certainly have the right to lay down general principles in order to keep individual activities within the limits of social happiness, but all schemes transcending this are surely detrimental to healthy growth of individual faculties. True socialism must not mean too much of state interference but as little of it as possible, consistent with social welfare, so that citizens might learn gradually to adjust their personal interests with human good of their own accord. Too much state control has a tendency to kill self-respect among people and a nation where its citizens have lost self-respect can never rise to noble heights. It is the duty of the state to respect individuality of its citizens as much as their impulses. Where this is not done the nation is bound to develop a slave mentality and complete loss of initiative. What Sir M. Visweswarayya writes in his book. "Planned Economy for India," is of real value to all schemes of socialism, for he advocates "encouragement of collective effort without killing individual initiative." This is truly the principle of Theo.

sophical Socialism. Socialism can derive its strength only by encouragement to responsibility among large number of people and self-government is one of the surest way to cultivate this sense of responsibility. Where self-govenment is denied, people become anti-social. G. D. H. Cole very rightly suggests:

“ The power which goes with responsibility must be diffused to the widest possible extent among the whole mass of the people and that this diffusion on functional lines is the necessary condition of democratic health in the body politic.” *

This is exactly what is provided in the scheme of Manu's socialism. For Manu divided the society into four main classes based on functional distinctions and psychological traits. He very elaborately classified the functions of each group so that each could work quite freely and yet without disturbing the social harmony. The beauty of his scheme is that the function of each individual was decided by his psychological evolution and not merely by heredity. Of course, heredity is not entirely independent of psychological development, but what it means is that birth was not the

* “The Simple Case for Socialism- G. D. H. Cole

deciding factor in the allocation of functions. Prof. J. E. Marcault very clearly explains the underlying principle of Manu's organisation in the following words:

"The laws of Manu, when they were properly applied, provided the most complete and perfect system of civilisation of which the Aryan Race is capable. They are based upon the higher mind conception of brotherhood on a hierarchical plan, and they define with penetrative understanding the principle of conduct of every type of citizen, assigning to each the appropriate place, function, rights, duties, etc, to which his degree of evolution entitles him" *

The four classes according to Manu are the Teachers, the Rulers, the Merchants and the Proletarians. These are the four main guilds in society to which all the guilds and functions can be reduced. Problems in society would arise when the functions of these guilds become unbalanced. i. e. when one guild encroaches upon the functions of another, as it has happened in modern society where the merchant class, the financiers and the capitalists have captured the machinery of state. Theosophical socialism is

* 'The Next Step in Evolution-J. E. Marcault.

the way to restore this balance once again. Guild Socialism of England has partly suggested this very idea although there is not the same clarity of thought as we find in Manu's socialism. But it must be conceded that guild socialism has arrived at the same truth as seen from its advocacy of a society based on functional lines, and of a nation grouped "into trades rather than geographical areas" so that it can be organised on the principles of "Knowledge and Interest." The fundamental idea behind Guild Socialism is self-government in industry or self-management which is clearly based on the principle of developing functional individuality, for an individual has opportunities to develop his faculties only within the guild to which he psychologically belongs. Mr. Taylor in his "Guild State" very nicely puts this idea. He says :

"It will be for the state to express what it wants; it will be for guilds to say how it will be done."

It is difficult to give a detailed scheme of the working of this Guild Socialism. The purpose of this book is to proclaim the wisdom of this type of social organisation. The society

as constituted to-day will have to be divided into numberless guilds all ultimately reducible to the four main guilds of Manu, and each guild will carry on its work freely and independently, so as to give its best to the well-being of society. The state will always have the right to interfere whenever any guild goes beyond the spheres marked out for its functions or when it does its work in a manner prejudicial to social happiness. In the words of Cole "The Community as owner of the service will lay down the general line of policy which is to be followed in administering it, for the service must be so managed as to meet the public needs." The idea of rigid centralisation of all functions in a state is, as we have seen, harmful to the growth of individuality and. Guild socialism is preferable to other schemes largely because it affords good scope for this growth, it is individualism rationalised or co-ordinated to social good. The idea of co-ordination appeals most to the peoples of the Aryan Race owing to their higher mind level and so even from that psychological point of view Guild socialism is acceptable to us. Theosophical socialism which adopts

Guild Socialism within the frame-work of Manuism is thus quite compatible with the psychological development of the race, while over-centralised schemes of modern socialist schools are rather contrary to it. Bertrand Russell expresses the same opinion in different words:

" I do not regard either Marxian Socialism or Syndicalism as the best practicable system. The best practicable system to my mind is that of Guild Socialism which concedes what is valid both in the claim of the State Socialists and in the Syndicalist fear of the state by adopting a system of federalism among trades for reasons similar to those which are recommending federalism among nations." *

Some might suppose that this self-management of guilds, if introduced would create a social chaos, a defiance of authority, a looseness of social relations. But this fear is entirely unfounded. In the first place Theosophical Socialism advocates co-ordinated and not unrestricted individuality. In the second place, even within the guild, all are not at the same level. Hierarchy is the very soul of Theosophical socialism, and it never contemplates equal

* 'Roads to Freedom' — B. Russell.

distribution of power among the members of any guild. According to Theosophical Socialism division of power is as necessary and inevitable for the growth of socialism as division of labour is for the development of capitalism. It will be the function of all members, forming any guild to keep themselves within the powers defined by Society. Just as an individual has a right to grow within his guild so has he a duty to obey those who are socially appointed to tasks higher than himself. The operation of rights in Theosophical Socialism is always in accordance with the performance of duties, for then only co-ordinated individuality can be fostered. The following words of Cole are applicable to all the guilds formed under Theosophical Socialism:

“ It is of course perfectly true that neither a factory nor a whole industry can be managed by a mass meeting or by referring everything to a mass vote. In politics and in industry alike there must be leaders and administrators armed with enough authority to get their orders obeyed. There must be differences of power and a degree of responsibility between one man and another according to their several functions founded on differen-

ces of competence and capacity.' *

And so if emotional refinement is the heart of Theosophical Socialism, co-ordinated individuality is the very brain contributing to its success.

The fifth principle declared by Theosophical Socialism states that the future order of society should be inspired by the ideal which says: **In the willing discharge of Duties by the Wise Consists the protection of the Rights of the Ignorant.** This is the principle of **Joyous Sacrifice.** It is a law applicable to civilised societies based on co-operation and not to capitalist order of human organisations based on cut-throat competitions. It is a law of society in which human beings desire to share and not to grab. Not "each for himself and devil take the hindmost," 'but each for all' is the underlying thought behind this principle. And yet it does not mean that all must sacrifice to the same extent, for that would be absolutely absurd if a Law of Hierarchy exists in the world. It demands greater and greater sacrifice in the interest of social good from those who are more

* 'The Simple Case for Socialism'—G. D. H. Cole.

advanced, those who are wise and understand more than average human beings. Wisdom means responsibility and those who are wise are expected to offer [their all in the service of humanity. Society progresses not so much by the efforts of those who fight for the assertion of their rights, but by the sacrifice of those, who in answer to a call of social duty, lay aside every personal consideration. It is this ideal that needs to be emphasised, for it is the very soul of socialism. Only as larger and larger number of people live their lives under the inspiration of this ideal can Socialism become a truly better order of society. When asked whether she believed in Socialism, Madame Blavatsky truly struck the note of Theosophical Socialism by saying, I believe in the Socialism that gives, not in the Socialism that takes. : " Success of Socialism unquestionably depends on the social morality of sacrifice adopted by its citizens, not merely in the larger fields of national service but also in the daily avocations of life. Feverish enthusiasms roused for the fulfilment of five year or fifty year plans are only artificial stimulants and their effects are bound to die

out when a nation reverts to peaceful and quiet times. These stimulants might be good, even necessary for speeding up the economic growth of a country, but depending upon them for all times would result in shattering the nerves of its citizens. And besides moral stature of a nation can never be gauged under the effects of these stimulants. For what the nation does in ordinary times is the real yardstick with which to measure its height. It is foolish to proclaim great success of a socialist regime because large masses of people under governmental repression are prepared to remain on starvation line in order that a socialist society may be speedily built up. Let it not be forgotten that these masses have no choice but to yield and accept their lot. They may even get jubilant under the effects of stimulants. But true socialism does not come out of these stimulants. This Socialism takes longer to complete its structure but it is always sure of its foundations. It does not mistake mass enthusiasm for real advancement. It takes its stand not on mass moods but on the daily sacrifices and offerings of an ever-increasing number of people. Theosophical Socialism

derives its strength from its ability to turn its citizens into real human beings. It regards this as the real function of society. Spirit of sacrifice and service are powerful undercurrents nourishing Theosophical Socialism. Its task is not so much creating of huge buildings and enormous economic plants as to arouse this sense of sacrifice in all human beings. With all the pious declarations of scientific socialists, it cannot be denied that the socialism of their dreams is to be built out of the self-interest of proletarian classes. The class conscious proletariat, the hero of revolutionary socialism, works at the task of building a new society because of the gains and acquisitions, because of the power and position that are to fall into the hands of a class to which he himself belongs. It is with an appeal to self-interest that the working classes of all nations are roused to action by revolutionary socialists. And we are asked to believe that these self-interest-seeking proletarians are going to build a socialist society which will replace the existing one based on greed and self-interest. It will, at best substitute a lesser evil than the one existing to-day, in

as much as it will not be the few that will exploit the many, it will be many that will exploit the few. Still it will continue exploitation in another form. It might lessen the evil, it cannot produce positive good. Only when people are enthused with a spirit of service can a truly socialist society be produced. It is because of this that Theosophical Socialism opposes all efforts to bring socialism by an appeal to the material self-interest of masses. It does not regard material stability to be socialism. It makes all attempts to give this material stability by peaceful and constitutional measures, for it regards this as a necessary precondition for an effective appeal to human idealism. It opposes all efforts to impose socialist structures of society through the material impetus given to the masses, for it regards such a society as contrary to all ideals of socialism. Dr. Besant truly sounds the keynote of Theosophical Socialism when she says:—

“ We need a preaching of the doctrine of self-sacrifice, not in order to win an individual heaven, for that is not self-sacrifice at all, but only self-seeking, but the self-sacrifice of duty which

says: " Because I have more to give, I must give more". From every one according to his capacities" It is the word of Socialism, but it is the word that is forgotten now." *

It is this word that is spoken again by Theosophical Socialism to refurnish modern socialism with its true idealism. It is necessary, our revolutionary socialists understand that selfishness and socialism are incompatible. It is high time they recognised that a feeling of self-sacrifice can alone be the driving force of socialism. It is really very dangerous for social reformers to adopt an ostrich like attitude and shut their eyes to realities. A proletarian rising for the attainment of a proletarian heaven will no doubt usher in a society based on the domination of working class-but it can, in no case, bring socialism. To bring socialism is not a question of quick transformation of society, it is a process of gradual permeation of a social ideals inspired by a spirit of self-sacrifice, of a growing sense of self-discipline, of an ever-increasing readiness to set aside personal gains in the interest of public good. It is because of this

* 'Future Socialism-Dr. Besant.

that Theosophical Socialism insists on a change of ideals before a change in structure is brought about. George Lansbury writes in his "My England" :—

" I do not deny the self-evident fact that a great change must take place in our attitude towards life if socialism is to become a fact in the life of nations. A society within which men and women will be expected to share their culture and labour with each other on behalf of all can only exist when lives are more self-disciplined than now."

What efforts are modern socialists making to instill this self-discipline among their followers? What conscious attempts are they making to fill the lives of people with this idealism of sacrifice? These modern socialists might say that their insistence on the principle of "No work, no bread" shows conclusively that they are eager to change the attitude of humanity towards life. Modern Socialism has been fighting a relentless war against all idlers and parasites in society. It is true that they have done this and that in Russia there are heavy penalties for those who do not work. This is

their effort to develop a sense of social responsibility among people. But can this really develop a spirit of sacrifice ? There is a vast difference between people who work for society out of fear and those who work for the joy of it, because they have understood the value of true socialist living. Russia induces people to work by decrees and penalties, by executions and exiles. People in societies like this no doubt work, but the work is done by a constant fear of hunger and destitution as an inevitable lot of failure to do it. This fear of starvation might temporarily wipe out the existence of idlers and parasites. But once the state apparatus is relaxed these very people will indulge in idleness and social parasitism. Even now we read of numberless cases of sabotage and unskilled work appearing in Russia and of such cases being dealt with harshly by state courts. It is abundantly clear that people do not work in Russia out of social duty. There are reasons for this. A vast amount of undesirable work would disappear if people were grouped in guilds and allowed considerable freedom to manage their affairs. Manu's Guild socialism is a great antidote against all sabotage

and unskilled work. We have considered this point in connection with the fourth principle. There is another reason for this sabotage and idleness. It is the lack of a sense of social duty. It was Manu who first sounded this cry of "No work, no bread." But it was based on different principles. It said that a man who failed to perform his duties in society had really no right to enjoy his rights. Social atmosphere, public morality and above all else the self-sacrificing example of those wise and great naturally filled the hearts of all with a wonderful sense of duty. Thus the entire slogan of "No work, no bread" was based not on fear nor on the threat of a national calamity but on the idea of duty, the strongest pillar of Manu's socialism. Mr. C. Jinarajadasa observes:

"It was the idea of duty which kept as one living organism the clashing hopes and the ambitions of the dwellers in the village. The priest toiled at his sacraments because it was his Dharma, so too did all even the village scavenger. It is such a dominating idea as this that the west is seeking

and has not found. Patriotism will work wonders but only for a while. The love of a father cannot, for most men, inspire the hourly sacrifices which are required in the model citizen. Patriotism by fits and starts will not make a model citizen." *

But the question is how can this be achieved? How can the society be filled with an atmosphere of duty, this dominating ideal of Dharma? It is not state legislation nor fear of starvation that can do this. What the society needs is a band of workers, a strong band of idealists who are pledged above all else to the service of humanity, who are wise, who have disciplined themselves, who have put their personal interests aside for the sake of collective good. It is this band that must ever keep the flame of Social Ideal burning before all. It is this band that must keep the socialist Flag flying aloft, the Flag of Duty in spite of all difficulties. In such a society, the large masses of people learn more from examples than from expositions. They learn more from the behaviour of the wise than from the terrorism of the strong. They learn

* ' Meeting of the East and the West ' -C. J.

more easily from the sacrifice of the great than from the decrees of the powerful. And it is because of this that Theosophical Socialism proclaims that it is out of a sense of Duty imbibed by the strong and the wise that Socialism can remain true to its lofty ideals. Not a band sound merely in theories and tactics like the Communists, but a band steeped in noble idealism of sacrifice—that is what we need. Manu in his Socialism stressed the need of such a band. Manu was no idle dreamer. He was a practical idealist. He suggested that if society is to be inspired and held together with the ideal of duty, there must be a group of men, a group of true leaders, a group of reformers who have themselves become examples of what they expound. It is through this group that humanity will be drawn for ever to its ideals, it is through the efforts of these men that humanity will be saved from inhuman living. What according to Manu are the qualifications required of such men ?:

“ Men of wisdom who know human nature and its requirements, who can observe facts accurately who draw conclusions and foresee

consequences far-sightedly, who know the various sciences, history and traditions closely and above all who are full of self-denying philanthropy". *

It is not from heaven that such men will drop, it is through hard training and severe discipline that such a band will be created. But if it is recognised that such a band is needed, all efforts ought to be made in that direction. Socialism without this band will be a society without leaders, it will be a body without a soul. If society is not to degenerate, it must develop this group of idealists. It is not enough that masses are economically happy, these masses must have some place to look to, for inspiration and guidance. The state will do mostly the negative work of restricting anti-social acts. Socialism cannot thrive with this negative instrument. It must have the positive inspiration of such men, of such idealists, of really humanised human beings. Society must have increasingly larger number of men who regard the observance of duties as far more important than assertion of rights, nay who

* 'Ancient vs Modern Scientific Socialism'—
Dr. Bhagvandas.

think only of duties, whose only joy is sacrifice, who 'suffer to make others dream,' who lie on the cross so that others might be saved. Such indeed are the human beings needed to make socialism a living reality. Dr. Bhagvandas suggests a school of Yoga for such a training in his book: "Ancient versus Modern Scientific Socialism." People get frightened with the name of Yoga. But call it by any other name, society will need a school of Yoga, a school of practical idealists, a school of selfless workers. And this is what Dr. Bhagvandas means by such a proposal as the Yoga School. Yoga not in the sense of renouncing the world, not in the sense of flying from realities, but Yoga that trains people for efficient and effective work. Theosophy never advocates the Yoga of renunciation, it teaches the Yoga of service. To be a Theosophist is essentially to be a worker, to be a servant of Humanity. But Theosophy declares that before one goes out to serve, one must know what the world needs, and it is this that has to be taught to people desirous of ushering in a new age. What the world needs to-day is the right type of men to tackle vast problems facing humanity. It is true,

people are suffering due to poverty and misery, but that is no reason why the problem should be solved foolishly. There have been people in history who have rashly plunged masses into radical movements for the immediate solution of human problems but they have invariably ended with instituting their own dictatorships leading to still more complicated problems. Such attempts might look very brave and even apparently satisfactory, but they lack one thing positively and that is **Wise Leadership**. And yet certain enthusiasts have always decried unwisely such attempts at creating wise leadership. Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, the leader of Indian Socialist Party, is the recent instance in point when he very uncharitably criticises Dr. Bhagvandas in his book: "Why Socialism?" Mr. Jai Prakash says:

"Here is our world crumbling, tearing madly, rushing into ruin, there are millions starving, tortured unemployed; here are rapacious capitalism, and imperialism forging new tools of oppression and exploitation, piling up armaments, eating up colonies, gambling away with the lives of millions and here is this philosopher calmly thinking of a school of Yoga."

Our Scientific Socialists very safely forget

that while Russian masses were undergoing very cruel sufferings, while these people were starving, while they were being shot down in the streets of Moscow and Petrograd, while Russian Imperialism was every day forging new tools of oppression and exploitation, Lenin in his home in Switzerland and other European countries was indulging in fine theoretical discussions with Plekhanov and others, was writing on Empirico Criticism and mechanical conceptions of materialism, was insisting on ideological clarifications, was splitting his-comrades on theoretical and ideological issues. When these atrocities were raging in Russia, there was an arch revolutionist calmly advocating ideological clarification. But he knew he was training his men for effective work in his cherished plan of revolution. This was his school of Yoga—whether one agrees with his Yoga or not is a different matter. Even he thought theoretical training to be of fundamental necessity for revolution. Here is Lenin writing to his comrades:

“ A man who is weak and vacillating on theoretical questions, who has a narrow outlook, who makes excuses for his own slackness on the ground that masses are awakening spontaneously, who resembles a trade union secretary more than

peoples' tribune who is unable to conceive a broad and bold plan, who is incapable of inspiring even his enemies with respect for himself and who is inexperienced and clumsy in his own professional art—such a man is not a revolutionist, but a hopeless amateur. ’ *

In the light of above words, one wonders whether Dr. Bhgvandas' plan is ridiculous as is made out by the leader of Indian Socialist Party. Theosophical Socialism has no doubt on the point—it asserts, even before a hostile world, that humanity needs right type of persons, inspired with right type of idealism, following a right type of method; that what the world needs is a band of selfless workers, inspired by Noble Idealism and guided by Wise Leadership.

Sixthly, Theosophical Socialism believes that future social order can unfold its wonder and beauty to the full by the **Release of Latent Creative Faculties in each, resulting in Cultural sharing with all**. This is the principle of **Creative Living**. Socialism is not merely a sharing in material goods, as is believed by modern socialists; it is as much a sharing of civic rights, of human emotions and impulses, of individual abilities, of noble and

* ‘What Shall We Do Then’—Lenin.

inspiring idealism, it is more than all these a cultural sharing between human beings, a sharing of each other's life, a sharing of spiritual joys and heavenly delights. It is this comprehensive conception of sharing that one fails to find in theories of scientific socialism. And this is so because a true conception of man is lacking in all its philosophies. To the scientific socialist, man is but a body, a physical body that is seen with these physical eyes. The satisfaction of bodily desires and needs is according to him the fulfilment of socialism. He regards idealism, emotional refinement, intellectual development, religious attitudes and spiritual behaviours as merely super-structures on body and its material environment. It is no wonder that with this narrow conception of man, modern socialism should have over-emphasised material and economic aspects of socialism to the exclusion of all other expressions of it. If socialism is a better order of society meant for the happiness of mankind, it will undoubtedly fail to achieve its purpose without a real understanding of man. Socialists must know Man before they attempt to produce schemes for his betterment. Fraternity

and comradeship with human beings are all very well, but they are lifeless without the fuller grasp of man and his nature. Every social reformer must know the constitution of man before he undertakes to analyse the constitution of society. Every socialist must know the forces that build a man before he takes up the study of forces that mould a society. If socialism is to nourish better manhood and womanhood, if socialism is to create better citizens, if socialism is to call out all that is best in humanity then it must direct its attention to the study of man. Theosophical Socialism essentially means a better humanity and hence it includes in its philosophy the conception of real man. Socialism so long as it excludes this, will remain an incomplete scheme of social organisation. It will produce a lop-sided humanity, not a spiritually balanced mankind. Let none forget that a civilisation is considered great not because of its material vastness but because of its spiritual heights and cultural sublimity. Future will judge socialism not from the soundness of its economic organisations but from the cultural and spiritual beauties it

has been able to call out from human beings. There have been periods in social history when poverty was non-existent and if socialism does only this at this level of human progress, it differs but little from those ancient communities. If humanity progresses it means that it externalises that which is latent in mankind. Every progress is an objectivisation of the inherent powers of man. And so, soundness of social organisation consists in its ability to provide for the satisfaction of all the externalised faculties of man. The task of social reformers is to lead humanity onwards, and wise among these do it with the pressure of higher faculties of man upon his already externalised ones; that is they do this by keeping the externalised faculties within the sphere of yet latent powers. Socialism according to Theosophy is externalisation of social sense and this can be done by increasing the subjective pressure of spiritual and cultural powers that are still latent in humanity. It is only in the soil of spirituality that the plant of socialism can grow to its full beauty. Failure to satisfy spiritual and cultural hungers of humanity would, of necessity, make socialism incapa-

ble of unfolding the inherent greatness of mankind. And if that happens, socialism fails to carry out one of its principal missions, if not the principal mission. Dr. Besant sounded a warning to all Socialists very many years back in the following words:—

“although it is true that by better economics we may change the outer conditions, man wants something more than food to eat and raiment to put on, man demands more and more as he unfolds inner powers, not only what the body demands imperatively, but that which the mind and conscience and spirit no less imperatively demand, and I fear lest this movement should be wrecked on the lack of the recognition of the real nature of man, that he will be treated as a body only not as a spiritual intelligence and that against that rock all schemes will break, for we cannot ignore the real nature of man. ” *

Alone among all schemes of reconstruction, Theosophical Socialism provides a comprehensive understanding of man. It says that man has not one but seven fold natures, that there are seven-principles, seven bodies or vehicles which man possesses. In terms of psychology it

* ‘Future Socialism’—Dr. Besant.

might be said that man has seven faculties which he objectifies one by one as he marches onwards in evolution. This is not the book wherein these seven principles of man can be described, this can be seen in any of the classical books on Theosophy. Theosophy not only describes them, but shows the way of unfolding them also. Theosophical socialism applies this conception of man to the larger field of society. What a man does in his individual life, humanity does in its social and collective life. Humanity as it evolves passes through seven stages of development just as an individual does in his personal life. The task of a social reformer is to provide social facilities for the unfoldment of latent faculties of humanity. And this is possible only through education, right education, education that has a comprehensive grasp of the nature of man. This right education is not to come at the dawn of socialism, it must precede it. It must form the very basis of all socialist programmes. The urge to socialism must come not merely from a desire to share material goods, it must pre-eminently come from a desire to share spiritual

joys and cultural attainments. This spirit of sharing must be fostered from now among children and among those who are the citizens of tomorrow. Socialism that came through class-consciousness might at best succeed in grabbing material possessions, socialism that comes through right education will result in spontaneous sharing of each other's delights and sorrows. It no longer remains merely a social organisation, it transforms itself into real socialist behaviour. And when men become socialist in behaviour, they do not need the instrument of state or society to enforce Socialist enactments on humanity. This is indeed the magnificent conception of Theosophical Socialism. But a question might arise: what is right education which Theosophical Socialism provides and ever insists upon? The function of education is to draw out, to release latent faculties in an individual and to lead him to creative living. This is possible only when education recognises diverse temperaments of man and arranges his activities in a manner that would call out the best in each. Theosophy says that there are seven types of men, belonging

to seven temperaments or rays and the function of education is to give cultural environment for the perfect development of each. And so, not "a fragment of education given to a fragment of the child" but a full education given to the full individual is what Theosophical Socialism considers inevitable for the happiness of humanity. And so not only are there seven stages in humanity's growth but there are seven types of human beings in each stage of social progress and it is with this understanding that society should be organised so as to give full scope of development to all. Theosophical Socialism says that full development of each should not be contrary to the full development of all and society must make this possible. It is herein that Russia has failed for it refuses to recognise diverse temperaments and faculties of men and hence its education falls far short of the ideal of Socialism, which means the development of all. Education in a socialist state will stifle the growth of individual uniqueness so long as it does not adopt this conception of man given by Theosophy. and without individual uniqueness, socialist society will not become a garden

full of variegated flowers, it will at best become a factory producing standardised goods. It will not be a society of normally developed human beings, it will become a society of repressed individuals. Julian Huxley very rightly observes:—

“ If your people through historical cause lack mechanical aptitude, but need it for the country's economic sake, it is good educational business to encourage it. But even if the community's main pre-occupation be with technology, it will need many other aptitudes in the people. Pure science for instance, business ability, administrative skill, literary and artistic talent. The Russian experiment of a general industrial bias to education is bound to be unsuited to many children and it cannot but fail to provide many trained types who would be useful to community. ” *

Theosophical Socialism classifies all men in seven distinct rays and arranges for their education in accordance with their temperaments. It is entirely devoid of misfits for it provides to each full opportunities of growth along his own line. There is no question of looking down upon those who cannot do industrial work or who do not like political activities. Each man free to

* ‘ A Scientist among the Soviets ’—J. Huxley.

follow his own aptitudes within the limits of social welfare, is the word of Theosophical Socialism. For to share spiritually or culturally is to be creative and this is possible only when man can rise to his own heights and is not forced to fit into another's interest. Theosophical Socialism asserts that only as we prepare men and women by imparting this education can we hasten the birth of socialism. While we are engaged in mitigating the evils of misery in present-day society, while we are providing for civic activities, while we are organising the emotional life of people, while we are setting up a balanced political and industrial machinery and while we are creating a group of selfless workers, we ought to be providing for the proper education of children so that when they become citizens of a socialist society, they will be able to share their spiritual joys with all. Such is indeed a comprehensive programme of Theosophical Socialism.

There is another point with regard to this cultural sharing which is an inevitable part of true Socialism. Our Scientific Socialists tell us that Socialism is an order of society,

it is not an individual behaviour. And so these socialists maintain that individual conduct is not of great importance. Men and women with anti-social habits, with even unspiritual behaviour can usher in socialism in the world. What is required is theoretical soundness, not a purity of conduct, an ability to rouse and organise masses for socialism not a control over one's emotions and passions, over one's anti-social thoughts and behaviours. A man who is unable to control his passions is going to set up a society based on human fellowship, a man who cannot control his thoughts is going to build a society that will rest on a spirit of sacrifice. It is not maintained here that only those who are perfect can engage in the task of social reconstruction. But it is certainly asserted that those who aim at building a new order of society must at least try to live according to the ideals on which the society is going to be based. Socialism is no doubt an order of society but the greatness of that order can be measured only from the lives of those who are its pioneers. It is not dead theories that inspire people, it is the daily life

of men and women who call themselves workers for a new cause that can truly give impetus to people to work for a new age. It is also true that socialism can rise to heights which its leaders have attained in their personal lives. "Humanity marches on the feet of its geniuses;" and so cultural sharing in socialism is possible only to the extent to which its protagonists have reached spiritual and cultural heights. Humanity marches on the path, its leaders have shown, it rises to heights shown by its heroes, it reaches higher stages only in as much as there have been a few pioneers who have gone ahead, cleared the forests and shown the way to their followers. A civilisation initiated by leaders that are spiritually and culturally short-statured can never hope to touch the heavens. Prof. Marcault enunciates a law of psychology when he says:

"Whatever level of progress a man has attained, he cannot rise to the next level except within the experience of another who has reached it before him and lives there normally." *

* T. S. Diamond Jubilee Convention Address.

This is the law of cultural sharing according to Theosophical socialism and that is why it lays especial stress on the conduct and behaviour of those who propose to lead the Socialist movement. It believes that only as larger and larger number of people attain to their spiritual heights can they draw the world ever higher and higher. Socialism without cultural sharing made possible by the spiritual heights to which ever increasing number of people reach, is a socialism, that is devoid of all life. Socialism that does not inspire men and women to be spiritual even as its leaders are, is a socialism that is devoid of all its beauty. Socialism that does not lead its citizens to cultural sharing can never be a true socialism. Socialism according to Theosophy is a synonym for Brotherhood and the law of brotherhood says that even as an individual attains to spiritual glories he glorifies the whole world with him and this is highest socialism. For to share material goods is easy, but to share cultural joys is possible only in socialism that is based on spirituality. Prof. J. J. Findlay very correctly says:—

"The eager socialist believes that the world is ripe for a universal transfer, but the process is long drawn out and if social revolution comes, it will not succeed merely as an economic change promoting community in goods but as a spiritual change converting men to Brotherhood in every region of behaviour." *

And lastly, Theosophical Socialism declares that fulfilment of the future order of society is in an **Ever-increasing Realisation of the futility of Material possessions, leading to the Discovery of Hidden Treasures, within Every Man and Woman.** This is the principle of **Indwelling Divinity.** More and more as people are imbued with the idealism of sacrifice, more and more as people try to practice what this idealism proclaims, more and more do they realise that the world around them can never supply them with real joys, that the society can never give them what their soul has been hungering for, that the treasures of the world are nothing before the inner richness of man. It is this feeling, this realisation that is the culmination of Theosophical Socialism. The discovery of one's own Divinity and the Divinity of all is the very purpose of Theosophical Socialism. To know man as man is

surely good but to know man as Divinity is most wonderful, it is to unravel the mystery of the Universe. Society based on the Divinity of Man is the ideal to which Theosophical Socialism unmistakably drives all humanity. Theosophical Socialism while it starts with material stability gradually leads its citizens to the realisation of the futility of material happiness, Theosophical Socialism, through the process of supplying stable material atmosphere, through the regulation of human activities, through the sublimation of human emotions, through the development of healthy individuality, through the permeation of lofty ideals, through the education of full individual, leads man to the realisation of his own Divinity. And it is this realisation that gives to man the supremest joy of his life. But this realisation does not come all of a sudden. Only as people learn to regard day after day the futility of material acquisitions, do they realise their indwelling Divinity. It is the purpose of Theosophical Socialism to create a gradually increasing discontent for material possessions, to teach man his mastery over material environment, to make him understand his own completeness.

It is because of this principle that Theosophical Socialism is fundamentally guided by non-material conceptions. It is the cultivation of this sense of material futility that Theosophical Socialism unceasingly undertakes. Although it gives material stability to large masses, it never allows them to run away with the idea that with material happiness their ultimate joy is realised. It always drives into the hearts and the minds of the people that material happiness might give them relief yet they will have to find their true stability in the realisation of their own Divinity. Modern civilisation, refusing physical happiness to large masses, has made material stability the only goal for humanity. Herein lies its degeneration, for a civilisation that cannot think beyond material happiness is surely not a civilisation that can long endure. Modern Socialism taking its stand as a rebel against this civilisation has made fulfilment of economic desires the sole concern of man. Herein lies its mediocrity for a civilisation that regards its fulfilment in material satisfaction can never nourish finer sentiments, higher ideals, it will ever create a wall between man and his true nature. Bertrand Russell very truly remarks:

"Happiest men and women we can all testify from our own experience are those who are indifferent to money because they have some positive purpose which shuts it out; yet all our political thought, whether imperialist, radical or socialist continues to occupy itself almost exclusively with economic desires, as though they alone had real importance. *

It is this purpose, a lofty purpose, an ennobling purpose with which Theosophical Socialism intends filling the lives of people. Once men and women realise this fundamental purpose of their lives, the material urge for happiness will tend to disappear and give place to spiritual realities. It is true that not all can do this. It is not foolishly supposed by Theosophical Socialists that all men will find out their purpose in life. Only a few individuals can realise this but it is the experience of these few that will be the source of strength and greatness to Theosophical Socialism. It is the realisation of these few that will inspire all humanity and save it from degeneration and decay. Theosophical Socialism maintains that the strength of any society

* ' Why Men Fight ? '—B. Russell.

is not derived from mass organisations but from the realisation and inspiration of those microscopically few human beings who have attained to spiritual heights. Theosophical Socialism is not merely a revolt against modern civilisation, it is a positive urge to awakening the spiritual possibilities of humanity. It is not a machinery producing material goods, it is a drive to turn men's minds to things nobler and loftier than material happiness. But be it remembered that this is not a philosophy of escape from ghastly realities. Theosophical Socialism demands of the intellectuals, the idealists, the leaders of human thoughts and movements to adopt this attitude and come themselves to the realisation of this fundamental reality before they teach the masses to be indifferent to material happiness. Theosophical Socialism maintains that there must be material stability for all who need it, opportunity for civic activities for those who cry for it, stable and healthy family life for those who require it, development of individuality for those who demand it and all these within the limits of social welfare and human happiness. It is the duty of society to provide every

opportunity for the proper growth of all these elements in humanity. And yet the society does not live by those who stand for the fulfilment of their rights; it lives and progresses because of its few idealists, its fewer teachers and priests, its still fewer rulers, rulers, that rule not by outer splendour and pomp but rulers who are true kings, who shine by their own indwelling Divinity. It is from this group of human beings, those who are the support and splendour of society, that an attitude of indifference to material happiness is demanded by Theosophical Socialism. It maintains that society must be based on hierarchical principles and that the fulfilment of the rights of the masses is to the purpose of gradually recruiting them to the fold of idealists, teachers and true rulers. In any society these recruits will certainly be very few but it is these that will be the guiding intelligences behind all social progress. To lead men and women to the realisation of their Divinities is the fundamental purpose of Theosophical Socialism. And this is the dream of Manu made real, this is Manu's heaven descending on earth. To know the

Divinity of Man is the supreme task before us. And when this realisation comes, Brotherhood and Fraternity will not be merely vague ideals, they will not be merely idle dreams. Brotherhood will reign supreme in the world for the knowledge of Man's Divinity will hold us together with ties that are unbreakable. It is to this end that Theosophical Socialism is proclaiming its principles and ideals. When this day arrives the world will be ruled by true Democracy. Theosophical Democracy, Democracy that will be concerned essentially with leading men and women to the realisation of their Divinities. Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, in the following words, very beautifully describes this Theosophical Democracy. He says :

" We now think of civilisation as the process of transforming the savage into a civilised being, but we must think of civilisation as the process of transforming the human into Divine. Some day when all men accept the truth about man's mysterious nature, our statesmen will then make all policies strictly subordinate to one policy; how to call forth the Divinity hidden in each citizen. And we shall elect as our representatives in civic and national assemblies not men and women who talk

well, or understand sanitation or finance, but men and women who are foremost in their understanding of the ways by which the Hidden God in man can be released. '9 *

These are the seven principles proclaimed by Theosophical socialism. A society based on these principles will not only give full scope to the development of an individual but it will provide opportunities for the growth of people at all the stages of their growth. It will be a society that will be based on mass happiness on the one hand and wise guidance on the other. It will really be a social union, a "union of all who love in the service of all who suffer." It will be a society where the strong will protect the weak, where the wise will share his joys with the ignorant, where each shall be a brother unto all. It will be a society not of hostile classes but of harmonised guilds. It will be a society that will satisfy not only the physical but the spiritual needs of humanity. Sacrifice will be its driving force, while wisdom will be the ruling power. It will free men and women as much as possible from the thralldom of state and

society for with the realisation of man's divinity external restrictions will prove unnecessary. Then will socialism not depend upon outer organisation but upon the inner convictions of man. No threat of civil war, no foreign invasion, no extraneous happening will shake the foundations of such a society. The strength of such a society will not lie on the questionable soundness of mass organisations but on the unshakable realisation of its citizens. Such indeed is the order of society after which men and women of all the nations of the world are groping. After passing through revolutions and cataclysms, after indulging in violent upheavals and dangerous experiments, society will undoubtedly come to the principles of Theosophical Socialism for they are based on the understanding of man and his nature, on the forces that truly mould societies, on the idealism that society needs in its upward march. It must be the duty of every idealist, every social reformer to strive with all his powers to usher in this age of true Socialism. On it alone depends the abolition of poverty, the disappearance of destructive tendencies, the elimination of wars, the growth of

true individuality; it is out of this that true social workers, real spiritual teachers and Divine Rulers will come into being to lead the world, the suffering and unhappy world, to the kingdom of true Fraternity of Man. It is for us to cherish this dream and work for its realisation, through unfailing sacrifices in the service of humanity.

Chapter IV.

The Method of Social Change.

" A movement that starts with violence must continue by terrorism. It must be prepared, that is to say, not merely to repress a rebellious minority but to intimidate a majority. That means a ruthlessness which would corrupt and disfigure its own ideal. The Socialism that emerged from a reign of fear might bring order and even wealth, but it would be morally an ugly and distorted creation. There are in life higher values than order and wealth. " *

H. N. Brailsford.

Every theory must have its accompanying practice or, better still, practice must inevitably emerge from theoretical assertions. For otherwise a theory, however sound and fascinating, is bound to remain unconnected with actual problems of life. And therefore, Socialism be it Utopian, Marxian or Theosophical must evolve its own method of achievement. The Utopian Socialists of the pre-Marx period had their own

* 'Property or Peace.' H. N. Brailsford.

method of social change, although we at our own level of human evolution regard their methods as either faulty or incomplete. We have noticed before, that Utopian Socialists had an emotional reaction against injustices and cruelties prevailing in society and hence their's was a religious indignation against the social order in which they lived. With this psychological background of the Utopians, it is no wonder that they emphasised only the personal conduct, the cultivation of virtues, the reversion to natural order of society where all human beings were intensely religious, as the only method of social transformation. It is no wonder that they were intolerant of science and machinery for they regarded machine as the synonym for all social evils. However much we may disagree with their methods to day, it cannot be gainsaid that they too had evolved a way of social change, consistent with their philosophy and their reaction to social disharmonies.

It is said, and rightly, that with the advent of Karl Marx and the publication of the famous "Communist Manifesto" Socialism entered the realm of practical politics. With Marx,

Socialism was no vague idealism, no flight from reality, no going back on social evolution. With a keen intellect that he possessed, he analysed the social forces and laid all social ills at the door of political and economic organisations. Consistent with his philosophy and his analysis, he declared that political action by the under-dog was the only effective method of transforming human society. But with all his analysis and practical strategy, history proclaims that Marx was not popular in his own days, that people of his time were not prepared to adopt the drastic method he proposed. Of course, economic conditions during the latter half of the last century were to a large extent answerable for the indifference shown to his methods by social workers of his time. With the march of prosperous Capitalism, the working class did get ever-increasing share of national wealth as also an improvement in the conditions of their living. It is quite natural that neither the working classes nor the labour leaders of the last century were in a mood to bring about radical transformation in society. They were content with political franch-

ise, greater social legislation, improvement in the conditions of work. A demand for total change in social structure was never heard except from the lips of a few revolutionaries, anarchists and syndicalists. This does not mean that the working classes were happy but it meant that they were less conscious about their rights. Thus the paradox is true that Marx has lived after his death. For it is only after the world war of 1914 that through the Russian Revolution the Marxian strategy has been put into practice and since then has captured the imagination of many a backward country on the brink of desolation and ruin. It required the genius and leadership of Lenin to translate Marxian methods into practical political action of the working class. The Great War has uncovered many a serious sore on the body politic of our civilisation and has led ever-increasing number of people to adopt the tactics of Lenin for the solution of political, economic, and social problems. This sudden turn to extreme radicalism has tended to create divisions in the ranks of Socialists themselves over this very question of methods, for they have come to

realise that agreement on ultimate objectives is not sufficient, that the issue of methods is not a minor issue, for the nature of the coming social order will very largely be decided by the method with which its realisation is attempted.

The split thus created has divided the Socialists of the world mainly into two camps, the revolutionary and the reformist. The former stands for revolutionary action for the attainment of Socialism and includes Communists and Scientific Socialists of all nations. The latter believes in parliamentary and constitutional action for the realisation of Socialism and includes the British Labour Party, the Social Democrats and most of the Orthodox Marxists. It is generally believed that these are the only two methods by which Socialism can be introduced in the world. As a matter of fact people are beginning to feel that there is only one method, that of revolutionary action since the Parliamentary Socialists have discredited themselves for reasons to be considered later. Over and above the sad betrayal of Parliamentary Socialists, the grave economic crisis, ever-increasing unemployment, rationali-

sation, international strifes instigated by imperialistic competitions, colonial exploitation and such other factors have forced large masses of people as well as lower middle classes to favour this revolutionary method out of sheer desperation.

But is revolutionary action the only method? Are poor masses to realise the Socialistic heaven only after passing through violent upheavals and orgies of blood? Before we consider that question let us fully understand what this revolutionary action means, what are its implications, what are its consequences. For I am afraid, large number of its advocates are enlisting active sympathies of masses for the acceptance of this method without either understanding its implications themselves, or without ever explaining its consequences to those who must suffer and sacrifice due to active participation in revolutionary movements. It is a deep tragedy in our social affairs that the blind is leading the blind to-day. The fault does not lie with those who are blind due to ignorance, lack of understanding or desperate conditions of material existence. The fault clearly

lies with those leaders of revolutionary movements who deliberately exploit the ignorance and desperateness of the masses, who are blind due to revolutionary zeal and consideration of party-interests, who consciously or unconsciously keep the people in dark about the sufferings that would entail upon them due to their following revolutionary doctrines. It is these leaders who will have to reply to these charges before the bar of human progress.

There are a few among revolutionary Socialists who have been recently talking of Non-violent Revolution. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the prominent Nationalist-Socialist leader of India, is the most outstanding personage of this section. I do not know whether such a section does exist outside India. Some of the Congress Socialists of India, under the influence of Gandhiji, have adopted non-violent outlook in political struggles. But it is a question whether the protagonists of non-violent revolution are really honest about their professions. Those who regard non-violence as a policy can never be relied upon, for when their professions are put to a severe test in times of crisis, they are bound

to throw their beliefs to the winds and with those who are striving at a social change by violent methods. There is no reason why these people should be regarded as different from those who openly advocate violent revolution as the sole method of social transformation. But let no injustice be done to this section at least to those who very sincerely believe in the possibility of a non-violent revolution. The question is whether it is possible to be sincerely in the efficacy of non-violent revolution consistently with the Marxian philosophy. One ought either to give up Marxian philosophy and its interpretation of history or else to give away this belief in non-violence as an article of faith. For what is otherwise the difference between reformism and non-violent revolution except that the latter uses bolder phraseology. Sincere belief in the method of non-violent revolutionary action means either insincere belief in Marxism or a conscious or unconscious deception, both with oneself and with the people at large. For what does non-violent revolution imply? When can such a revolution succeed? It means firstly, that there will be a change of heart among the propertied classes which

lead them to voluntarily divest themselves of the vested interests. Or secondly, it means that the moral pressure of non-violent revolution will be so great as to force the vested interests to abdicate their rights. So it means that a non-violent revolution can succeed either with moral pressure or due to a change of heart of the bourgeoisie. Is this acceptable to non-violent Marxists? Is it consistent with their faith in Scientific Socialism? Do not the Marxists believe that the bourgeoisie have no hearts to be changed, they have only pockets to be affected? Do they not maintain that the propertied classes will fight to the last and that moral pressure will be of no avail, for they will yield only to forcible expropriation? Surely to profess non-violent revolution in the face of these assertions is to be intellectually dishonest; nay it is misleading those who are ignorant and blind, it is a gross exploitation of those who do not know.

An objection might be raised by revolutionary Socialists against the introduction of violence and bloodshed while discussing their revolutionary strategy. For they say: "We are

silent over this issue of non-violence or violence, it does not affect us. We do not necessarily believe in violence, we make no fetish about non-violence." I admit that revolutionary socialists are not wedded to violence, that they have not evolved a philosophy of violence like Sorel and his fellow-syndicalists, that they are silent about it in their discussions about Marxian strategy. But is this all? Is it enough that they do not preach violence? So, far as their professions go they do not bother about this purely ethical question, according to their conceptions. But what about the actual practice? What is the revolutionary strategy of these Scientific Socialists? It consists of (1) A social revolution led by a class-conscious proletariat and (2) A dictatorship of the proletariat—finding its expression through the Communist Party. We are here concerned with the first, for the second arises only after the first is successful. According to this, success of a social revolution varies directly as the class consciousness of the proletariat. The more intense the class consciousness, the sooner the revolution succeeds. And so to deepen this class

consciousness is to carry on and intensify class struggles so as to link them ultimately with the social revolution. Whatever the Scientific Socialists might say, these intensified class struggles are bound to result in violent clashes between the propertied and the proletarian classes. And so violence is very intimately connected with the methods which revolutionary Socialism adopts.

If revolutionary socialism involves violent overthrow of the present order of society, the question naturally arises whether this is at all necessary. And where is the guarantee that such a revolution will cure the society of all its ills ? The stock argument of these Socialists has been that the social ailment is of such a nature that only a surgical operation can relieve the social pains, the boils on the body politic have to be cut out if the society is not to suffer; and a revolution proposes to do this only and nothing more. The argument is hardly tenable for in the first place any body and everybody is not competent enough to perform surgical operations, that the instruments with which such operations are performed have

to be perfectly clean, that there is a danger of such operations becoming septic, thus complicating the social ailment. There is every likelihood of revolutionary remedy proving worse than the disease. Granting that this does not happen, can it be maintained that a drastic cutting out of the boils will cure the social body of all its disease? Is it not true that these boils are merely the outward symptoms and the disease lies somewhere else? The real problem of social disease is that there is impure blood running through the veins of human society and unless this blood is purified no drastic cutting out of boils will cure the social body, though it might give temporary relief, provided no complication has developed. It is a tragedy that these social revolutionaries do not realise this simple fact and yet they attack reformists by saying that the latter are engaged in mere patch-work. The truth is that these revolutionaries are themselves satisfied with mere patch work and have no patience to correctly diagnose the disease, much less to attempt its complete cure. G. D. H. Cole very rightly says:

* Poverty is the symptom, slavery the disease. The extremes of riches and destitution follow inevitably upon the extremes of license and bondage. The many are not enslaved because they are poor, they are poor because they are enslaved. Yet Socialists have too often fixed their eyes upon the material misery of the poor without realising that it rests upon the spiritual degradation of the slave. *

If as is contended by revolutionary Socialists, violent social revolution is the only cure, let us consider whether such a social revolution is a practical proposition for if it is merely an academic issue like the syndicalist myth of the General Strike, there is no reason why a split should be created within Socialist ranks. Scientific Socialists very sincerely believe that an armed revolution by working classes for the introduction of Socialism is quite feasible and that too not in the very remote future. The Russian Revolution is invariably quoted in defence of this contention. We shall consider later the particular conditions that led to the success of the Russian Revolution as also whether such conditions exist in other Western or Eastern

* Self Government in Industry—G. D. H. Cole.

countries. Scientific Socialists very cheaply sneer at the proposals of parliamentary Socialists by saying that a gradual evolution of society to Socialism is an illusion, for such a thing is impossible on the face of it. The economic depression that seized world economy in 1930 and which has been creating grave complications in international relations, has further led these revolutionary socialists to believe that the increasing misery of the masses will inevitably throw them into the arms of a violent social revolution. It is true that mass unemployment coupled with drastic reductions in the standard of living does create a revolutionary mood among large masses of people; it also finds expression in sporadic revolts and desperately violent activities. But a subjective mood for revolution is quite different from mass preparedness to stand against the organised armed forces of modern governments. It is quite plain that mass aggression for socialism against the established order of society is a mad adventure leading masses into unnecessary sufferings and resulting in ruthless repression of individual liberties. I can do no better than quote Henry Brailsford when he says: —

" Great as the obstacles are that the present Constitution of society opposes to a democratic decision for socialism, the obstacles to military victory in a civil war if Socialists were the aggressors are by contrast over-whelming. If money can buy opinion, much more easily can it buy arms. The mechanisation of modern war-fare has rendered popular insurrections hopeless. " *

If this is so, what about the Russian Revolution ? Was it not a popular insurrection against the mighty imperialist government of the Tsar ? Did not the phenomenal misery and inhuman brutalities suffered by the masses create a revolutionary army of the people in Russia ? Yes, it is true, Russia was presented with both subjective and objective conditions for a social revolution. But these pre-conditions of the Russian Revolution were so unique that they can never be reproduced in any other country. But for the existence of those conditions, Russia would not have produced the revolution it has done. In the first place, Russia was a very backward country, politically, economically and socially. Her political institutions were of a pre-capitalist period, her economy was far

* ' Property or Peace '—H. N. Brailsford.

behind that of any other Western European Power. In short, Russia was quite unsuited for a social revolution. Marxian Socialism tells us that capitalist society contains within itself the germs of its own disruption. According to this theory, Socialism, can emerge only when contradictions in capitalist society have become so severe as to handicap all social progress while retaining the capitalist structure of social organisation, in other words, Socialism can be introduced only after capitalism has developed to its full stature. Of course, a strict adherence to this law of Socialist development is today considered orthodox Marxism and revolutionary Socialism believes that this law does not operate in its strictness under conditions when Capitalism has reached its last stage of development, viz that of Imperialism. Under these changed conditions, full development of capitalism need not be the necessary pre-condition for a Socialist revolution in any one country. This is Lenin's revision of Marxian theories. But then even Lenin upto the eve of the Russian Revolution believed in the correctness of the above law enunciated by Marx. Karl Kautsky, the outstanding leader of

Orthodox Marxism, very pertinently remarks:

"The Marxists were convinced that the revolution which they were expecting in Russia could do nothing but open up the way for a complete development of Capitalism and that only when the latter had attained a high degree of development would a socialist community be possible. Thus the countries of industrialised Western Europe would have to precede the countries of Eastern Europe on the road towards Socialism. Until the Revolution of 1917, Lenin himself was of the same opinion as the other Marxists. And then the unexpected happened." *

And so the Russian Revolution was quite an unexpected happening, irrespective of the law of Capitalist development leading to Socialist revolution held by Marxists and by Lenin himself till he was faced with the unexpected situation. But why did the unexpected happen? What were the unique conditions that led to the unthought of Revolution? This book is not intended to be a history of the Russian Revolution and hence it is impossible to consider in detail the actual conditions in Russia that led to the 1917 Revolution.

* 'Bolshevism at a Deadlock'—Karl Kantsky.

But those who are conversant with the history of that land of the proletarian Revolution know that the Socialist revolution could happen and succeed in Russia because (1) of the existence of the government of the Tsar which was thoroughly discredited and universally disliked, (2) of the absence of a strong middle class capable of assuming charge of the administration of the land and (3) of the most miserable and pitiable role of Kerensky, the hero of the Provisional Government set up after the February Revolution. Even the former two out of these three causes together with the abject poverty of the masses were not sufficient to produce a Socialist Revolution. It was the appearance of an extraneous world phenomena which hastened the outbreak of this revolution. This was the Imperialist World War of 1914—18. Russia had plunged into this war on the side of the Allies but the war operations were so thoroughly mismanaged that very soon they led to the demoralisation of the army and absolute paralysis of the whole governmental machinery. War and war alone led the armed peasants assisted by the army to declare a revolt which resulted in the abdication

of the Tsar. If the Social Democrats of Russia who were in charge of the affairs at the time of the February Revolution had acted a little more with imagination, Russia would have passed simply to the stage of Bourgeois Democracy as a result of the first revolution in 1917. And so it is really due to these two unexpected causes of war and pitiable role of Kerensky's Government that Russia passed on to the Socialist Revolution. On this point Lenin writes with absolute unequivocation, for he says:—

“Had it not been for war Russia would have existed for years and even for decades without a revolution against capitalists.”.*

This very clearly shows that to draw parallel from the Russian Revolution and thus prove the feasibility of armed revolution for the inauguration of Socialism in other lands is absolutely meaningless. The situation that prevailed in Russia does not exist in any other country of the world, whether in the West or in the East. Henry Brailsford very succinctly tells us:

“One would not pause to answer folly, were it not that the partisans of physical force can point to Russia. They forget that she had no

* ‘ Russian Revolution vol-xx—Lenin.

democratic tradition, no habit of orderly change, no respect for a constitution won by the courage and endurance of elder generations. They forget that her middle and upper classes formed a negligible fraction of her population and that it lacked the capacity and coherence of the middle class in western industrial lands. They forget that the whole state apparatus had collapsed under the weight of the world-war and that the army was demoralised by defeat and incompetent leadership,

Political, economic and social conditions existing in the countries of Western Europe and America are quite dissimilar to those that existed in Russia at the time of the revolution and which slowly contributed to the sudden outbreak of proletarian upheaval. While drawing of Russian parallel in the case of India is also most inappropriate for India does not lack in a sufficiently strong middle class as also an upper class, politically conscious and ready to take over the government of the country. The history of the Indian National Congress during the last fifty years very clearly shows that it is the middle classes of India that have carried on political struggles for the achievement.

* 'Property or Peace— H. N. B.

of the country's freedom, while the proletarian masses and the property-less sections in the villages of India have been politically backward. Even if the situation that appeared in Russia were to repeat in the case of India, there is every likelihood of Indian middle classes utilising such a situation to re-organise this country on the liberal-democratic basis of the British or the American type. In any case, it is foolish to imagine that the same conditions as those that existed in Russia would again make their appearance in other lands, and even if they did, to force a Socialist revolution would not necessarily produce results quite favourable to Socialism, on the contrary, it might create something that is quite averse to the dreams of Socialists. Prof. H. J. Laski writes:—

"Few Governments are as outrageous as that of the Tsarist Russia or as confused as that of Kerensky. Few armies are likely to suffer such disorganisation and ill-treatment as the Russian army during the European war of 1914. And if Communists can learn how to organise revolution from experience, from the same experience bourgeois governments can also learn how to organise against it. The adventure is dubious in any event and in most conceivable

instances, it is so hazardous that it can hardly hope to overcome its difficulties. ' * *

We have before us the instances of Germany and Italy where Fascism and Nazism have raised their heads, inspite of the fact that situations slightly similar to Russia made their appearance here and yet were utilised by the propertied classes helped by the middle classes to usher in, not Socialism, but something which is quite the contrary of it. And so to contend that violent revolution of the working class for the introduction of Socialism is a practical proposition is to refuse to face facts existing in present day society. We ought to remember that we are not still living in the days of Marx, that society has not remained at a standstill since Marx made his prophesies, that forces undreamt of by Marx have made their appearances in this complicated world of ours. And so, an advocacy of violent Socialist Revolution in these days is a very dangerous thing for it lets loose not only rabid revolutionary forces, which it will be difficult to control even by those who have called them out, but also reactionary

* ' Communism '—H. J. Laski.

elements that try to put the clock of world's evolution back, that hamper human progress by all conceivable means. Let the revolutionary Socialists of the world listen to the warning sounded by Professor Laski:—

“ Nor must it be forgotten that the lessons of the Revolution are not merely applicable in Communist terms. The dictatorship of Mussolini is merely their transference to the service of the bourgeoisie and they indicate the important truth that once the flood-gates are opened, none can surely prophesy who will emerge from the disaster as leader. That is the risk men run when they desert the path of reason and choose to prove for themselves by force, not their desire for truth but the truth of their desires. There are occasions doubtless when the situation they confront leaves them no alternative save violent protest. But its conscious choice as the path of salvation seems likely, save in the most rare instances, to lead to disillusion rather than to success.” *

With all the accurate analysis of Karl-Marx regarding the social forces and their effects, it must be admitted that he has been a false or rather inaccurate prophet in at least two things. It is true that he did not foresee the

* ‘ Communism—H. J. Laski

rise of Fascism, that he could not realise capitalism would invent innumerable ways for its continuance. Most outstanding inaccuracies in Marxian analysis are (1) his theory of increasing misery of the masses (2) his under-estimation of the role of the middle class. It is this failure to realise these two inaccuracies that has led most of the revolutionary socialists to blindly adopt Marxian methods and to advocate violent social revolution. The slogan of "Workers of the world unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains," is hardly applicable to the working classes of at least Western industrial lands. The workers of these countries have really to lose more than their chains. They have their bank accounts, their financial interests in connection with co-operative societies, their little savings in cash or kind and it is largely because of these that the working classes of England and America have not been responsive to revolutionary doctrines of socialism. It is not that their condition has been far from happy and yet they are not prepared to exchange their present meagre happiness for the supposed doubtful gains through a social revolution.

greatly because of this, the desire to keep up material security, that the working classes of Western European countries and of America did not rise in violent revolts even when they were undergoing cruel sufferings during the first years of economic depression that began in 1930. Nay these proletarian classes have almost invariably cared more to protect their economic and political rights than indulge in revolutionary luxuries. Henry Brailsford is absolutely correct when he says:—

“It is difficult to look round the world and retain the old faith in the inevitability of a Proletarian Revolution. Save in Russia and here and there in Central Europe for a brief period, the workers have nowhere been the active and shaping force in history.” *

Side by side with the over-estimation of the working class as a revolutionary force for socialism, Marx, as we have seen under-estimated the role of the middle layers of society. It was Marx's contention that as capitalism develops this middle class will tend to disappear and ultimately lose itself in the proletarian classes. And hence he believed that the middle class was

* ‘Poverty or Peace’—H. N. B.

absolutely immaterial from the standpoint of social change. It can never have initiative by the very reason of its social position. It was his conviction that the middle classes will follow either the upper classes or the labouring forces in the task of social transformation. As a matter of fact, the history of western nations of recent years shows that it is really the middle class that is holding all the strings of world's economic activities. It is the scientists, the chemists, the engineers that are organising the productive functions of society. The mode of capitalist production prevailing in the days of Marx are no longer existing today. While the productive activities have on the one hand passed from the entrepreneurs into the hands of financiers, they have on the other hand gone under the control of these middle classes. Modern economic production can never do away with these middle elements for with their disappearance from the scene of world-production, the society must either land itself into the days of pre-machine production or else face a devastating chaos. This middle class is not at all in love with a system of production in which enormous waste is going

on, it is not interested in keeping up the profits of predatory capitalists, it does not care to stabilise the unearned incomes of an idle, parasitic class in society. It is this class that is pre-eminently interested in planned economy and the idea of planned production becoming popular in capitalist countries is mainly due to the efforts of this class. It is a pity that by following blindly the doctrines of Marx, the present-day revolutionary socialists have alienated the sympathies of this middle class, who if won over to the cause of Socialism would have contributed a remarkably constructive genius to the whole Socialist movement. G. D. H. Cole writes in one of his most popular books:—

“What they (Marx and Engels) did not see was that side by side with the development of large scale capitalism there was growing up a new intermediate class of the salaried employees of large scale business, of the professions, which increased rapidly in numbers and importance as the standard of life rose. This new middle class dependent upon the development of modern machine production is not like the petite bourgeoisie of Marx's days--- a spent force, It has behind it a

creative power of its own. for it largely organises the productive work of the modern world. It is a power to be reckoned with in all policies appropriate to the twentieth century, and it is undoubtedly destined to play an important part either in the preservation or reconstruction of capitalism or in its suppression by an alternative economic system. " *

In order to correctly understand the position of the middle class let us consider the whole question from yet another standpoint. As we have seen it was Marx's assertion that human history was fundamentally determined by changes in Man's material environment. Thus according to him progress of society rests primarily on economic conditions. But the surest way of gauging all progress and predicting the direction of social advancement is to study changes in the modes and methods of production. The balance of power in any given society naturally shifts and a new class with better and more efficient method of production comes to power and becomes the maker of history. If we study the growth of modern

* ' Intelligent Man's Guide to world Chaos '—
G.:D. H. Cole,

capitalism, we find that the modern capitalist has risen in importance and prominence in present day society due to a better method of production he possesses in the shape of machinery than the ordinary merchant capitalist who relied simply upon the handicrafts. We also see that the entrepreneur of the free market age has been replaced by modern financiers simply because the latter have a better mode of production through cartels and trusts which eliminate waste and enable an industry to utilise latest scientific investigations for the production of mechanised goods which a single entrepreneur cannot afford to do. Now we can see that every advancement in rationalisation, in the utilisation of scientific technique, in the adoption of automatic machinery increases the importance of the above considered middle class who becomes indispensable and minimises the importance of the working class who is slowly being replaced by machinery. It is not difficult to judge as to who possesses better mode of production, the middle class or the proletariat. The modern capitalist production is becoming every day more and more dependent on the middle

class and not on the working class. If the middle classes really organised themselves they could become real shapers of social history owing to their supremely important position in economic activities. And so even according to Marxian theory, it is not the proletarian classes that must come to power but the scientific experts because it is they who possess better modes of production than the working class of the world. Henry Brailsford is voicing the same opinion when he says :

“ If any class or section of class is rising relatively it is the technicians, the proletarians, the chemists, the engineers and the experts in management. They are in the scale of social values, what the small capitalist, the self-made Lancashire Millowner, the entrepreneur was in the early industrial age. From them comes progress. They might well feel themselves the architects of the
ge. ” *

Not only that; but it is the middle class that responds readily to idealism, that spontaneously acclaims all schemes of human welfare, that is prepared to sacrifice and suffer for the .

* ‘Property or Peace’—H. N. B.

cause it espouses. The working classes may rise in revolt for Socialism out of self-interest, and they are not to be blamed for this, the richer classes may support all reactionary activities in order to keep their vested interests in tact, but it is really the middle class that can take a disinterested view of things. The middle classes of all nations if roused to a sense of fervid idealism can with the technical skill it possesses and with the scientific knowledge it commands really bring about a change in human society that would be more stable and just than the one imposed by revolutionary madness. If the modern scientific socialists can remove Marxian bandages from their eyes, they can enlist the support of this constructive element in society and bring about Socialism much earlier because of the active sympathy of a class that is rising in social importance. Proletarian revolution may have been considered quite necessary in the days of Marx due to the particular composition of society then existing. But a childish sticking to the letter of Marxian ideas betrays static conceptions of society which are quite opposed to so-

cial dialectics, the very soul of Marxism. What modern scientific Socialists have failed to do, Theosophical socialists will have to achieve viz. to approach these middle classes with a right constructive appeal so that Socialism as conceived by them might become the natural order of human organisation. Dr. Besant in one of her famous Queen's Hall Lectures in London stressed this point very much with her characteristic eloquence. She said :—

“ Those of you who belong to the middle class, who have a fair sufficiency of the material side of life, who have education so that your brains have been developed, who have acquired the culture which enables the people to think impartially and to realise the great needs of human kinds—I often think they are the people best fitted to grapple with these problems. Those who are unduly rich without earning what they own may find it hard to look on the question impartially. And those whose life is laborious, who are shut out very much from the beauty and the art and the culture of the whole of that fairer life which so many of us enjoy—they may be in such a hurry to bring about a change that they may not have time to think out the problems to the full.”

In their enthusiastic propaganda for a violent revolution in the interests of Socialism, the scientific socialists of today ignore too naively national and racial traditions, cultures, histories, philosophies and outlooks on life and its problems. It is foolish to say that all countries and races are stereotyped in their ways of behaviour and outlooks on life. National traditions are too powerful factors to be lightly ignored in consideration of social progress. Racial cultures wield enormous sway over men's minds and imperceptibly guide them in all their actions, whether individual or social. History is an ever constant source of inspiration, irresistibly leading its citizens to follow into its footsteps. Those aiming at social reconstruction must at all events take these forces—cultural, traditional and historical—into consideration before they propose to overhaul existing order of society. What is necessary and even inevitable for Russia is not at all necessary for another country, nay it might be quite harmful owing to its strangeness with regard to national culture. Our scientific Socialists say that laws of economic development are common to all nations, howsoever different

their cultures and traditions might be. They do recognise that these traditions have some effect on the workings of these laws but such effects are very minor and do not affect the general course of development. It is here that they are committing one of the greatest blunders with regard to the estimation of social forces. It is no doubt true that laws of economic development are applicable to all nations; but the difference arises as regards the actual expression or operation of these laws. No body challenges that Feudalism gives rise to Merchant Capitalism which in turn yields to Large-scale Machine Capitalism which again is replaced by Socialism. Progress of economic development does follow this sequence. But the way in which this progress arises is bound to differ according to national cultures and traditions and the effects of the latter on the march of social progress are not insignificant. And so methods of realising Socialism must differ from nation to nation; revolutionary method adopted by one might be rejected by another simply because it does not fit into its particular psychological development. It is not a mere accident that British Socialism has differed

so fundamentally from other continental Socialist movements, so much so that it has rejected all revolutionary approach to this subject of Socialism. It has followed a policy quite consistent with the psychological growth of the British nation and all attempts to force any other method down the throats of the British masses are destined to fail. G. D. H. Cole says:

"British Socialism ever since the days of the Chartists has pursued largely independent course of its own. It has been in this sense Utopian, in that it has made its appeal by presenting a vision of the superior merits of a Socialist Society far more than by an endeavour to stir up hostility against the present governing class." +

To ignore the question of national or racial psychology in social experiments is surely to court disaster, sooner or later. The case of China is the most glaring instance of this disaster largely produced by the foolish tactics of the Third International in trying to force Communism in a soil which was unsuited for its growth. Communists and Scientific Socialists are prone to regard every discontent

+ 'The Simple Case for Socialism—G. D. H. Cole.

of the masses as a signal for a Socialist revolution. That was what they believed in China and tried to introduce Socialism there when the national psychology did not favour its introduction. Let it not be understood that under the guise of national psychology, I am trying to uphold the existing order of society, far from it. I only suggest that attempts at introduction of Socialism should be done with a view to national psychology, that they must be in harmony with it and that blind adherence to methods adopted in other countries ought to be discarded, for otherwise Socialism imposed by innovated methods would hamper national progress and development. It is here that Theosophy comes to the aid of all schemes of social reconstruction, for it definitely explains national and racial psychologies, it expounds the laws according to which the growth of national and racial consciousness proceeds, it traces every racial and national event to the existence of its particular mode of consciousness, to its distinct psychological expressions. Prof. J. E. Marcault of the Theosophical World University and now the General Secretary of the French Section of the

Theosophical Society has rendered invaluable service to the analysis and understanding of social progress by his unique theories of racial psychology. (For these theories see the Second Section.) Suffice it to say that Scientific Socialists if they are true to their scientific method will have to take cognizance of racial psychology if they are really working for the inauguration of a better social order. Let them pause before they proceed to apply their revolutionary methods to each and every nation. Here is Henry Brailsford sounding the same note :—

“ Even revolution, as Marx pointed out and Macaulay before him, have a curious respect for precedent. Nations have an historic memory, and they respect more readily than they innovate. ” *

If there is no really fundamental difference between national and racial psychologies, if every nation is on the same level of consciousness, if peoples all over the world react in the same way and adopt the same methods of social change, then the world history would have recorded not one but innumerable French Revolutions, but

* ‘Property or Peace’—H. N. B.

history knows only of the emergence of one French Revolution that happened towards the end of the eighteenth century. Has this French Revolution been repeated on the same scale and on the same plane any where else? What France achieved with bloodshed and guillotine, England did with the Reform Act of 1832; it registered the social and economic change and removed the barriers to economic development. Germany gave a blow to Feudalism at the instance of that dynamic statesman of Europe, Bismark. We all know that Japan entered the stage of capitalism at the fiat and initiation of the Japanese Government, wiping out all Feudal elements. And India too would have removed her feudal burdens on her economic development in the natural course, but for the existence of an alien power which has propped up these feudal elements. There is no doubt that nations of Europe and Asia had to transform their economic and political systems like France. But while France did it with a Revolution, other nations performed the same operation differently. French Revolution has been repeated in that sense, but on a higher plane and with more refined methods. If this has

been the case with regard to the French Revolution which inaugurated an era of political democracy and capitalism there is no reason why we should believe that the Russian Revolution must be repeated on the same scale and on the same plane, nor should it be maintained that the methods adopted by Russia are the only methods for the introduction of Socialism. The Russian Revolution will have to be repeated in its broad sense but on a much higher plane and with entirely different methods. It is true that the Russian Revolution is a warning that our present-day society is rotten, that it must be completely changed from the very foundations. It is a warning also that if it is not changed there is a danger of revolutionary madness sweeping various countries with disastrous effects. But the Russian Revolution means nothing beyond this.

The revolutionary strategy of Scientific Socialism also involves, over and above violence, the Proletarian Dictatorship or in practice the dictatorship of the Communist Party. Scientific Socialists might take objection to this and say that they have not advocated this dictatorship, that they on the contrary have proclai-

med Constituent Assembly as the only democratic instrument for the solution of the question of the future constitution of society. Now this Constituent Assembly is a very clever device for making a show of democracy. According to Scientific Socialists this Assembly will be convened by that Party which has led the revolution and will constitute those elements which have not opposed the social struggle, the decision regarding this will naturally rest with the convenors. Now the assembly convened by the revolutionary Party will see to it very clearly that the results of the Assembly shall not be of such a nature as would upset the plans of this Party or in other words jeopardise its superior position. And so even this comes to the dictatorship of the Party, the dictatorship being sanctioned by a Constituent Assembly, based on a mockery of democracy. This is not very much unlike Hitler becoming a Dictator of Germany with the mock sanction of German citizens. And so it cannot be denied that the programme of revolutionary socialism does imply Dictatorship of a party—supposed to be speaking in the name of large masses. Now

these socialists maintain that this Dictatorship is only a transitory stage and that even in its first years it would solve the problem of hunger, the problem that is staring everybody in the face and thus lay the foundations of a socialist society. We will discuss its transitoriness a little later. As for the problem of hunger, one may grant that revolutionary action by a Socialist party does solve this problem and keeps up the results of revolution by means of terrorism which are absolutely essential in all violent upheavals. The question here arises whether masses do really want the solution of this problem at the expense of loosing all individual liberties and all family happiness. Russian masses with no civic rights might have very readily adjusted to revolutionary terrorism once their problem of hunger was solved. It is a question whether other nations would do the same. It is true that people do not suffer from hunger in prisons, yet do they like that condition? Are the masses prepared to exchange their present condition for the hunger-less state of concentration camps? It is true that masses of all nations demand an immediate solution of the problem of hunger

but it is certain that they will never be prepared to pay the price of political and social slavery as a reward for economic stability. The solution of the problem of hunger by the ruthless dictatorship of a Party means nothing else but turning the whole society into one big concentration camp—of course with no problem of unemployment. Yes, but no socialist will dare to explain this, the natural consequence of revolutionary action, to the masses whose active help and sacrifice he desires in order to place his party into power, for such clear explanation would draw away the masses from revolutionary leadership. The Capitalist is exploiting the destitute condition of masses for his own personal profiteering, but does not the Socialist equally cruelly exploit the ignorance and impatience of these masses for safeguarding the position of his party and raising it to power?

The revolutionary Socialist defends this ruthlessness on the ground that it is only transitory, that as soon as all the elements against Socialism have been uprooted, there will be no need for this revolutionary terrorism. The history of the French revolution is full of

all sorts of atrocities and cruelties committed in the name of revolution. The Russian Revolution too has its own tale of ruthless cruelty and inhuman atrocities to tell—and all that in the sacred name of the Defence of Revolution. I do not want to do any injustice to the Bolshevik regime of Russia. I admit capitalist press and publicity agencies of various nations might have exaggerated the happenings in Russia after the revolution. But it cannot be denied that very severe repression did prevail and is still prevailing there with a slight improvement—and that the Bolsheviks have defended this behaviour on the part of the Communist Party on the score of capitalist and reactionary menace to the Russian Government both from within and without. When will this menace disappear? No body knows. Perhaps only when the entire world adopts Socialism. And this will happen only after the World Revolution, which Russia is supposed to lead and inspire. This world Revolution does not seem to be very near on the political horizon. On the contrary Russia in order to protect its own national interests has acted during recent years in a manner that has

helped to stabilise capitalism in Europe and America. It has been more eager to sell its own goods than to inspire revolutions in other countries even during the days of economic depression which offered a splendid opportunity to lead the working classes of European nations to a Socialist revolution. And so the ruthless repression must continue in the land of Socialist revolution. The new constitution declared in 1936 in Russia is hailed to be one which will be the harbinger of a new era in Russia. It is too early to judge from the clauses of this constitution for a paper constitution so long as it remains on paper may appear very good but when put into actual operation might lose all its excellence. India has a very good experience of this. It is said that the present constitution grants freedom of opinion and assembly. What sort of freedom does it grant ? Is it the freedom to hold communist opinions ? Or even to hold anti-communist views ? It is contended that even capitalist countries which boast of individual liberties have in essence a mockery of freedom, for a person is allowed to enjoy liberty only so long as he does not question the very basis of capitalist society. Yes,

it is true that this freedom is a mockery. But is Russia only imitating the capitalist countries? And if the freedom that Russia is prepared to grant to its citizens is real, what does that imply? It naturally implies that the enemies of the Socialist government have been completely finished and that there is no danger from any class, at least from within the country. It implies that at least in Russia a classless society has come into being and that Socialism is now safe in that country owing to the disappearance of all its enemies. If this is so, the question is why is there a need of any Government? For Marxian Socialism declares that the existence of a state is necessary only so long as classes exist in society, that with the disappearance of classes state will wither away. The state has not withered away in Russia nor are there any signs of its withering and so the freedom granted to the citizens in Russia is of a doubtful nature, no better than the capitalist liberties, if not worse. We must consider this withering away of the state and the transitoriness of the Proletarian Dictatorship even apart from the recent consti-

tution and its clauses. The question arises whether the Communist Party once having risen to power and tested its fruits will voluntarily abdicate its position. Whatever the present constitution, the important problem is, will not the dictatorship become a more or less permanent feature of the Russian Revolution? Will not the period of transition be lengthened indefinitely under the excuses of dangers and menaces? Will there be not created vested interests of the Communist Party? And this is a very important problem connected with the revolutionary programme suggested by Scientific Socialists. Whoever advocates revolutionary measures will have to give satisfactory answers to this question—or otherwise he has no right to plunge ignorant masses into revolutionary action. Let Prof. Laski speak on the subject:—

“If the revolution Marx foresaw became universal, there is no inherent reason why the result would be the kind of society he desired, for in the first place, the intensity of destruction now requisite to the overthrow of a social system might well make impossible a society in which generous impulses had opportunity and in the second place, while

economic classes might, by hypothesis, disappear, another form of class rule that of doctrinal aristocracy, for example, might take place. The poison of power is notorious and it is difficult to see why communists should be held immune from its toxins. It is indeed so much the most powerful of the factors by which men in politics are moved that there is no theoretical reason why those who make the communist revolution or their successors should abdicate from the pleasant task of exercising authority over their fellows." *

And so revolutionary solution of modern social problems, even if practical and feasible, is not desirable because of the ruthless dictatorship and political and social slavery that would inevitably emerge out of it. A social revolution even if it solves the problem of hunger will create more complicated problems partly because of the disintegrating forces it would generate and partly because of the intellectual and spiritual enslavement it would necessarily introduce. Material exploitation of the masses is certainly bad but undoubtedly worse is the spiritual exploitation of the people which revolutionary Socialism unmistakably sets up. If humanity is to progress it means that human beings must

* Communism—Prof. Laski.

have greater and greater intellectual and spiritual freedom, it means that the state and society must interfere less and less in individual and personal lives, it means that men and women must have ever increasing liberty to satisfy their spiritual and intellectual hungers particularly when their material needs have been fulfilled. Socialism, if it leads the society back to the days when individualism was undeveloped and state was supreme, is not a progressive force. Socialism as Theosophy understands it is absolutely progressive for it does not kill and repress individualism, it rather teaches human beings to harmonise individualism with social welfare of humanity. If it is not possible to bring socialism without repression and brutalities, let humanity wait, for it means that social organisation and human minds are not yet ripe for the introduction of Socialism and forcible imposition of this social order might perhaps give us the formal structural skeleton of Socialism but it will never grow to robust health without the necessary supply of flesh and blood and it will certainly not retain the noble idealism, which it ought to, if it aims at becoming a superior order of society

than the one prevailing at present under capitalist conditions. It is high time our revolutionary Socialists realised that good aim can never be achieved by false methods. It must be remembered that Socialism cannot thrive with the germs of ill-health produced by insanitary conditions of social, intellectual and spiritual living. Nor can the social health be regained soon after the whole system has been shattered. The way of Theosophical Socialism is to build up general health of society so that the diseased spots in the body politic may be healed and greater happiness prevail. Sooner or later modern Socialists will have to recognise the correctness and wisdom of this method; we only wish that they realise this before it is too late. Mr. Joseph Biby of the famous Biby's Annual writes in one of his books published as early as 1915:—

“ Physiologists all agree that in any effort to improve some functional activity it is better to build up the general health and so help the ailing organ to recover its normal condition. The great majority of militant Socialists, however, act on the principle that they can temporarily damage the general health

of the organism as a whole and yet succeed in permanently strengthening their own particular section. This is the exact opposite of the physiological method, and I think it will be discovered before long that the physiologist is right and that the methods of the militant socialist are wrong."*

If there is a law of human evolution, it must be conceded that human beings react to problems of life in ways different and more refined as they march on the evolutionary path. There is no justification for the adoption of revolutionary methods on the ground that it has been so done in the past. If humanity must resort to same methods of social change from the remotest primitive times to the present day, it implies that there has been no psychological development in human beings. It is true that history repeats itself but not on the same level for that would be against all the canons of the law of evolution, history repeats itself but on a spirally higher level and on superior planes. There is more truth in the following words of Lenin than is generally grasped by scientific socialists :

" The chief mistake which the revolutionists

* ' Friendly Talk with Socialists '—J. Biby.

make is that they look back to the revolutions of the past. life presents a great deal which is new and which must be included in the general sequence of events."*

And so Theosophical socialism rules out revolutionary programme of socialism as proclaimed by scientific socialists of the world on the grounds that it involves violence of the most brutal type, that non-violent revolutionary programme is quite inconsistent with the Marxian philosophy; that violent revolution can never cure the society of its disease—it can only shatter the entire system of social body—that a mass revolution is not a practical programme under the present composition of society with the rise of the middle class in social importance, that aggressive mass action has no chance of success against the organised forces of modern governments, that the parallel of Russia is inapplicable, that there are dangers of reactionary forces gaining ground during revolutionary upheavals, that such an action does not take into consideration the important question of racial psychologies and finally because of the ruthlessness and dictatorial repressions such a course inevitably produces.

* 'What shall We do then'—

But if the programme of revolutionary socialism is dangerous and undesirable the, case of Parliamentary socialism is no stronger. If revolutionary Socialists have over-championed the cause of immediate and radical social change, parliamentary socialists have times without number betrayed the cause of socialism, and have been untrue to its ideals. This charge against parliamentary socialists is not quite false. The history of the British Labour Party is full of betrayals. The role of parliamentary socialists has been very pathetic indeed. Few of the parliamentary socialists have been able to resist the small honours and rewards in the shape of jobs and ministries that have attended their way. It is also mostly true that they have hugged more closely to power than they have remained attached to the ideals of socialism. This is really a danger of too much compromises. But with all these it cannot be maintained that the failure of this method has consisted so much in the inherent weakness as in the incompetent leadership it has obtained. The debacle of two Labour Governments would have been avoided if the Labour Party had not

accepted office when it was not in power or else had dissolved the Parliament on a major issue of Socialism and sought re-election on a clear-cut-programme. The tactical blunder of these Labourites has been that they hesitated too much and in their hesitation gave time to reactionaries to organise and take them by surprise. There is no doubt that if personal betrayals had not occurred and if there had been bold and competent leadership, the British Labour Party would not have gone the way it has done. The case of German Social Democracy is slightly different. The Social Democrats carried on their plans even against heaviest odds and met with comparative success. The condition of German working class very considerably improved. But then the position of these Social Democrats was not enviable. The Treaty of Versailles had tied the hands and feet of the German Nation so that it could only crawl at the sufferance of the Allies, it had no right to walk, much less to run. The enormous sums Germany had to pay by way of Reparations had completely ruined this great nation and had practically made her a debtor to the Allies.

and more particularly to America. With the onset of economic depression caused very largely by the American Crash, America withdrew large sums of money loaned to Germany. It was this action on the part of America, a direct consequence of the Versailles Treaty that left Germany aghast. And then followed an immediate stoppage of factories with its attendant evil of unemployment. It was this that made the way safe for the rise of Hitler and the downfall of Social Democracy. Many are the causes enumerated by European and American writers for the sudden disappearance of Social Democrats from the political scene of Germany, but it cannot be denied that this Versailles Treaty has been the chief obstacle in their way. If it had been removed by modifications, if French politicians had taken a larger view than they are used to take viz of narrow nationalism, if British statesmen had recognised their folly earlier, as even Lloyd George recognises it to-day, much of the undesirable harm now happening in Germany would have been avoided. The Allied Powers and particularly France, have to thank themselves for the rise

of Hitler and his threats of recasting the map of Europe. The same is the condition in the case of Italy. Parliamentary Socialism has been discredited mainly because of the incompetent and ineffective leadership and the handicaps created by the Treaty of Versailles. But it cannot be gainsaid that these Parliamentary Socialists have failed also because they lacked the willing and wise support of their electorate; there was no backing of the people behind these constitutional socialists; nay they had so completely relied on legislation as the sole instrument of social change that they had failed to arouse the needed mass sanction for their programmes, they had neglected to awaken the will of the community for the realisation of their plans. With the social will awakened in support of their plans there is no doubt these parliamentary socialists would have made great headway towards Socialism. In any case, the dangers attending a revolutionary programme are entirely absent in the adoption of this course. The method of revolutionary Socialism is inherently dangerous and underirable, the method of Parliamentary Socialism with competent leadership and with slight modifications

is such as would lead the community to a healthier order of society.

But the revolutionary Socialists contend that there are inherent drawbacks in the programme of parliamentary socialism. They say ~~that~~ such a programme can succeed only when capitalism is progressing so that the different classes in society can get some share from the gains capitalists obtain. It is impossible to keep up these gains when capitalism has entered a downward arc for then capitalism would grab everything it gets and refuse to share the same with other classes. There is truth in this contention. But it is also true that it is when capitalism is in its downward trend that the middle classes in society can be won over to the cause of socialism by right appeals, for it is then that these classes fully understand the superiority of a Socialist society. With the middle classes, throwing themselves in favour of socialism there is no doubt that the propertied classes would be faced with either of the two alternatives, a revolutionary upheaval or a peaceful solution or in other words confiscation or compensation. The proper-

tied classes must choose either of these alternatives. If the propertied classes have no imagination, they may force a revolution. But the chances are, that if right appeal is made, ~~if unnecessary~~ provocations are avoided, if a peaceful solution is sincerely sought for and if the constructive elements like the middle classes are won over to the side of socialism, the propertied classes might submit to a peaceful termination of the social struggle. The only difficulty is that at a critical period of Capitalism these revolutionary socialists very bitterly provoke capitalists with all sorts of abusive languages and objectionable tactics and when these capitalists respond equally abusively, they try to prove that the peaceful solution of the social problem is not possible. And the ignorant masses very readily believe this because the capitalists have unfavourably responded to provocative words and actions. But this is not the way of testing the efficacy of peaceful methods. This might be very good tactics from the standpoint of pushing forward the Socialist Party but it certainly is not a just and an honest method, it is a method

that sacrifices the interests of humanity for safeguarding the interests of a party, it is a method which is cruel beyond words for it plunges ignorant masses into a deep valley of bitter suffering just for the satisfaction of proving that the socialist party and its doctrines are right. The ineffectiveness apparent in the method of peaceful solution is not inherent but is created by over-enthusiastic revolutionaries, who love revolution more than human happiness. Let these socialist revolutionaries discard all provocative language and action and give an honest trial to the peaceful solution of the social problem, and there is no doubt that during the time when capitalism is in its downward trend the propertied classes will submit to the liquidation of their anti-social rights with compensation, provided of course, the middle classes are approached and won over with the right appeal. To say that the capitalists are swindlers and exploiters and robbers and the parliamentary socialists are philistines and then to say that a peaceful solution is impossible is to be less than just to the method of constitutional solution. If the

peaceful solution of the social problem has become difficult, if the world to-day is faced with violent revolutionary fury, if the masses are losing their rights every day, if capitalism has resorted to brutal tactics, if Facism ~~has~~ come into existence, if unmitigated suffering is the coming lot of the people, it is very largely due to the provocative language used by revolutionary socialists while enthusiastically preaching their religion of hate and anger. If revolutionary socialists can only heed to the words of Henry Brailsford :—

“If we hope to achieve peace, peaceably, then we must avoid red language as resolutely as red deeds. provocative words are as likely to bring the peril on us as provocative acts. Our chance of success depends on our ability to persuade reasonable men that society as it exists to-day is a perilous chaos that rejects the plenty and happiness that rational organisation promises, our appeal must be positive, we stand for the ideal of order.” *

It is herein that the method of Theosophical Socialism supercedes all other methods. It is

* Property or Peace—H. N. B.

said that pacts and covenants have not produced world-peace, much less the predatory language of Hitlers and Mussolinis. It is becoming clear to all honest thinkers that what is wanted is a 'Will to Peace' and unless that is present no amount of outward methods of conferences ~~and~~ treaties will bring an era of world peace. It is the same with Socialism. Theosophical Socialism aims at creating this 'Will to Socialism' for unless that is done neither legislation nor social upheaval will usher in an age of Socialism. Revolutionary Socialism needs violence for the upkeep of its results because human beings have not developed this will to Socialism. Parliamentary Socialism fails because it has not this social will in support of all its actions. The method of Theosophical Socialism is based on an appeal to the effective will of the community. It is a method that adopts parliamentary action combined very effectively with arousing the moral conscience of the people. It is a method that makes parliamentary action more vigourous. It is a method that makes mass action more wise and less catastrophic. It is a method that prepares the mind of the people for the reception of Socialism

before an attempt is made to force Socialistic order of society on them. It is a method that believes in preparing the material for making a socialist society really efficient and happy rather than bring Socialism by releasing anti-social forces. It is a method that educates the masses not by strikes and class struggles but by training them in the discharge of their social duties, by inculcating in them the sense of social responsibility, by giving them opportunities to rule and to administer in their spheres of activities, appropriate to their knowledge and experience. It is a method that calls out a sense of sacrifice from all idealists and social reformers to give their all in the service of humanity so that those who have less might receive what they want. It is a method that aims at changing the human nature for it believes that Socialism can thrive as a social organisation only when the constituent parts making such a society have adopted a Socialist behaviour of life, that is when they have adopted a sense of social responsibility. Russia made a revolution and then it required the dictatorship to change human nature, to create a New Man in Russia.

Theosophical Socialism does not leave the moulding of human nature into the hands of a ruthless dictator, whether in the shape of a party or a person. The following words of Dr. Annie Besant make abundantly clear the position, Theosophical Socialists must adopt:—

“ The state will want virtues that make good citizens otherwise the socialist state will crumble to pieces, as other states have done, and it is this point which seems to me to be lacking in socialistic propaganda. It is this point more than anything else that led me outside the paths of socialistic propaganda into trying to form the material which the socialist needs for the building up of the state, for without that material all efforts must fail and the material cannot be made by outer organisation.”*

The method of Theosophical Socialism has two planks, which we might term subjective and objective. Both are necessary, none is more important than the other. Its subjective plank consists of forming the material for the socialist society, of developing men whose individual lives are in thorough harmony with social welfare. Its objective plank consists of restraining evil and anti-social habits of individuals carrying

* ‘Future Socialism’— A. B.

on their activities under the present order of society, of mitigating the sufferings of masses, of re-distributing the wealth of society so that starviug millions are at least saved from hunger and disease, of broadening the basis of social ~~legislation~~; in short of supplying every facility for the growth of subjective factors, for the proper development of the materials necessary for Socialism. It is impossible to bring Socialism without properly attending to both these subjective and objective factors. Theosophical Socialism aims at supplying the subjective need for Socialism by (1) formation of groups of idealists and social reformers who are fully steeped in the philosophy of Theosophical Socialism, who are inspired by its doctrines, who are pledged to sacrifice their all for the service of humanity, who are socialists, by behaviour and not merely by professions, (2) carrying on a systematic and scientific propaganda of its principles, advocating fundamental social changes, winning the sympathies of middle classes and other constructive elements, creating an irresistible intellectual and moral force in support of Socialism, (3) training the masses in

citizenship, instructing people in practical self-government, cultivating habits of social helpfulness among the people. As for creating objective conditions for the proper growth of subjective factors, Theosophical Socialism provides for the (1) Introduction of Municipal Socialism with a view to demolishing slums, constructing municipal-owned buildings and obtaining public control over utility services, (2) Introduction of graded franchise so as to enable every adult citizen to actively participate in the affairs of Government according to his knowledge and understanding, (3) Protection of civic rights of all citizens, (4) Restriction of economic activities carried on for personal profiteering and resulting in the deprivation of necessities for large masses, (5) Encouragement of all cooperative efforts in agriculture as well as manufacture, (6) Proper education of all citizens according to their inclinations and (7) Freedom of conscience and free profession and practice of religion subject to public order and morality. It shall be the duty of all Theosophical Socialists to strive for the realisation and retention of these objective facilities in order that proper material for Socia-

lism may be freely developed and all social handicaps to its growth be removed. Theosophical Socialism lays greatest emphasis on the growth of these materials for socialism and all efforts at supplying objective conditions will be to that end. Theosophical Socialism insists on the spiritual development of human material before full fledged Socialist society comes into being. The uniqueness of the method of Theosophical Socialism consists in its efforts to introduce socialist forms in consonance and harmony with the spirit of socialism, human beings have imbibed. An over-imposition of socialist forms requires dictatorial powers to continue its existence, while an under-introduction of socialist forms perpetuates mass discontent. It is the existence of both these factors that accounts for revolutionary terrorism on the one hand and reactionary repression on the other, prevalent in various nations of Europe. Theosophical Socialism is ever faithful to the lofty idealism that guides and inspires it even as modern scientific socialists are to the forms and structures of Socialism. A background of Socialistic idealism, a background of the idealism of positive and

dynamic fellowship is the necessary precondition for Theosophical Socialism.

It is contended by some that this course will take very long, that to create a background of Socialistic idealism is not easy, that this will mean a prolongation of the suffering of the masses. The question of time with regard to this issue arises only when people regard Socialism as an end in itself, as scientific socialists do. With Theosophical Socialists, Socialism is not an end in itself, it is only a means to achieving human happiness. And so, although actual Socialist forms may take long to emerge, the condition of masses will certainly improve gradually and consistently. The charge of sacrificing the immediate amelioration of the condition of large masses can verily be levelled against these revolutionary socialists for they have deliberately ignored immediate relief and despised ameliorative measures on the grounds that they would cool down the revolutionary fervour of the masses. To deepen every discontent and intensify the suffering of masses seem to them the surest way of fomenting revolution

and overthrowing the present order of society. And again this sacrificing of immediate relief is done for a socialist revolution that is not coming to-morrow nor is it near on the horizon. No body knows when this revolution is going to come and yet poor masses are sacrificed at its altar. Over and above the usual suffering, these masses have been surrounded by governmental repression consequent upon their unthinking adherence to revolutionary tactics instigated by scientific socialists and resulting in very many cases in the sad demoralisation of the people. Theosophical Socialism never demands such unthinking sacrifice from the masses nor does it contemplate any hoodwinking of the people. The method of Theosophical Socialism is such that it asks for the least sacrifice from those who have nothing to give and those who form the lower layers of social organisation. And while it aims at the fulfilment of its ideals it is all the time engaged in mitigating the evils of present day society by granting and extending immediate relief to the masses. And last but not the least, Theosophical Socialism asserts that masses do not demand abolition of

poverty with the introduction of slavery. Human beings have certainly reached a point when they regard the preservation of manhood or womanhood as more important than the satisfaction of their material needs—and even this satisfaction is a doubtful thing when the social revolution is a doubtful proposition; and so, Theosophical Socialism is truly a greater respect for the masses in as much as it regards them as individuals and not merely as human flesh to be moulded at the will of a revolution. There is not the slightest doubt that human happiness will emerge earlier by the method of Theosophical Socialism than by the method of Theosophical Socialism, though the outer form of socialism may be reached earlier by the methods of revolution than by socialism. The world wants happiness and not dead bones of a socialist structure.

But an important question is the question of the future. In spite of all the efforts of Theosophical Socialism to have a peaceful solution of the problem, if vested interests refuse to yield, and insist on the right of exploiting human beings, what will be the attitude of Theosophical Socialism?

alists? Such a situation is not altogether unthinkable. If the vested interests oppose all attempts constitutionally initiated by Theosophical Socialism, if these propertied classes resort to extra-parliamentary methods for the satisfaction of their anti-social desires, the only course open to all idealists will be to put up a fight, a fight for the defence of the weak, a fight carried on by persons steeped in the principles of Theosophical Socialism, a fight conducted with the cleanest weapons. Let there be no mistake about it...Theosophical Socialists are no cowards, they are no mere inactive pacifists. On the banner of Theosophical Socialism is boldly inscribed: **A valliant defence of those who are unjustly attacked.** The life of Dr. Annie Besant—a life lived in the defence of the weak, a life sacrificed for the protection of the rights of the exploited, a life of incessant struggle for the assertion of truth—is a constant source of inspiration to all Theosophical Socialists; for verily Dr. Annie Besant was the personification of Theosophical Socialism. Theosophical Socialism maintains that let the aggression come from the vested

interests, let it be replied by the constitutional authority. Nay, Theosophical Socialism even goes further, for it says that all attempts must be made to avoid this struggle, that no provocative word or act be utilised against the aggressor. And if even after that propertied classes resort to aggression and opposition to social change, let the constitutional authority take its stand for the defence of the weak and the exploited, let it declare that the welfare of society shall take precedence over the satisfaction of individual profiteering, and there is no doubt that Theosophical Socialists will range themselves in this Army of Defence. Let none regard that Theosophical ideal of brotherhood is a weak and negative thing, On the contrary the ideal of brotherhood proclaimed by Theosophists is intensely dynamic and positive for it never tolerates injustice, oppression or cruelty perpetrated in the name of Brotherhood and Fellowship. The following words of an Elder Brother, appearing in a message given to Theosophists, must remove all misconceptions about this ideal of Theosophical Brotherhood. It says:—

"Where trouble is, where suffering is, where ignorance is, where quarrel is, where injustice is, where tyranny is, where oppression is, where cruelty is, there must we find the earnest members of our society, those who study the truths of Theosophy and practically apply them to lead the world from darkness into Light, from death to Immortality, from unreal to the Real."

And so Theosophical Socialism offers a unique method of social transformation, a method in which least damage is done to society and no sudden break is introduced in the continuity of its progress. It raises the society to a higher level of human evolution not reducing it to barbarity through the instruments of dictatorship and terrorism. It does not stand for the evolution of society through the methods of revolution; on the contrary, it aims at revolutionary changes in society through the instrumentality of evolutionary methods. The cry of Theosophical Socialism is not social Revolution, its unmistakable and unique cry is social Revaluation, not social upheaval but human understanding, not the imposition of socialist forms but the preservation and fulfil-

ment of the spirit of Socialism, spirit of social responsibility. Let those who have heard its cry come under its radiant banner in order to lead the world from chaos and revolutionary madness to social harmony and human fellowship.

Chapter V.

A Peep into the Future.

“Wherever one who does not suffer is unhappy for those who do; wherever a human brain that might amuse itself finds joy and labour for the helping of the nation; wherever a human heart which has all that love can give it cannot be happy but goes out in love to the outcast-- there lies the promise of the future--- In those who are growing into the spiritual life; in those who cannot be happy while others are miserable; in those whose meals are rendered bitter by the starvation of the poor; in those whose luxury is a burden because of the want of the miserable-- in those will you find the builders of the new civilisation, those who shall sacrifice that others may be happy”. *

Annie Besant.

We are on the threshold of a new civilisation. Through every storm and stress, through turmoils and tribulations humanity is marching

to its cherished goal of Brotherhood as expressed through Socialism. Socialism is at our doors affecting our instincts, our behaviours, our emotions, our mental conceptions and our ideals as well. Human nature is changing fast and social organisation must adjust itself to these changes either through wisdom or revolutionary madness. A new mode of human consciousness is waiting to be released and all attempts to stifle its emergence must end in disaster for none can defy the law of psychological advancement. Politicians must recognise these signs, the signs of the new age and build political structures in accordance with them. Economists too must realise the nature of coming changes and reconstruct the economic and industrial life of nations in harmony with the growing consciousness. Socialism based on Brotherhood is to be a world phenomena and only those with a world mentality can tackle problems arising from it. Science and economics are bringing the world together, politics and social organisation must refashion their institutions, if a wise reconstruction of the world is to come. The nations of the world need statesmen with a wide vision, with world mentality with human

outlook. It is becoming increasingly clear year after year that the world is suffering for the lack of these men. We need very urgently men and women who can think beyond their narrow national interests, who can visualise plans for the whole of humanity, who can see into far distant future, who do not grow impatient at the sight of trivial happenings, who slowly but surely lead all humanity to the cherished goal of Human Brotherhood. We need, not merely politicians and economists, we need far more urgently idealists, dreamers, visionaries who while they soar into heavens, keep their feet firmly fixed on the earth. We want teachers who realising the stupendous mission of their profession create a race of ideal citizens out of the children that are put under their care. We want parents who fully understand the responsibilities that lie upon their shoulders and train boys and girls to become selfless servants of humanity. And hence Socialism sends its cry to all politicians, all economists, all philosophers, all idealists, all teachers, all parents, all those who dream of a reconstruction to engage themselves in the noble task of making

it easier for the new social consciousness to descend. It expects every man to do his duty and contribute his mite for the reshaping of this world. Only as those who have, give with joyous hearts for the common good of humanity can socialism be brought into being. Theosophical Socialism sends out this call of duty to all who understand and believe in wise reconstruction of the world.

It is a law of biology that only around a small nucleus does nature build cells that form a living organism. It is only through this nucleus that beautiful structures can be created. In the nucleus lies the promise of future glory. Nature does not work with madness, nor does it start its building operations without planning out everything. In the small and insignificant nucleus of to-day nature sees wonderful perfection of the future. It is only around a nucleus that appropriate cells required for a particular organism are drawn and remain welded together. This does not exist merely in the field of biology. Even physics tells us that all matter exists because of a nucleus round which its electrons and protons ceaselessly move. This is

a law applicable to human relationship also, for a human being draws around him only such friends as those that fit into his mental or emotional nucleus. Not only have physical atoms their nuclei, but even human emotions and thoughts have their central points round which all emotional and mental activities move. It is a fact that a particular thought has a tendency to attract thoughts of a similar nature. This law of biology is at times called the theory of vibrations in spiritual parlance. But this is a law not applicable merely to individual human beings, it applies as well to human societies. It is through small nuclei formed by human beings that social changes are easily brought into being. Such nuclei attract in ever-increasing measure human beings who are inclined towards new changes in society. Complicated as a human organisation is, these nuclei are formed in diverse ways. First is the ideological nucleus round which people of similar ideals gather and respond to their noble influences. Then is another nucleus formed of those who have responded to this idealism yet demand a clarification of thought. This is a mental nucleus round which

people try to give practical expressions to their ideals and evolve schemes of social organisation. It is then that these men and women of same idealism are welded together in ties of love and friendship, they become a sort of a group soul, a collective individuality and are bound together with their unflinching devotion to common idealism. It is out of this friendship that a new society is built first in small colonies making experiments in collective living, in community sharing, in brotherly behaviour. These colonies are natural materialisations of ideals that men and women have imbibed and that have drawn them closer in bonds of unbreakable friendship. A continuous springing up of these colonies would make it easier for social changes to be effected in the world. We have seen before while discussing the sixth aspect of Theosophical Socialism that humanity can rise to a higher consciousness only through the experience of those who have made that consciousness a normal stage of living. And so if humanity is to rise to a new consciousness, through socialism, it can do so only as larger and larger number of people are living normally at

the stage where the world is hoping to come in the years that lie before us. The world must have a socialist nucleus before it can dream of having a full-fledged socialist society. Such is the law of biology and such is indeed the law of human society. It is through the existence of numberless societies and associations that ideological, mental and emotional nuclei for the future order of society must be created. Only with the formation of these powerful nuclei, countless colonies based on socialist living will spring up in society, colonies that will reflect the glory of what lies in the womb of the future. These colonies will be living examples of socialism, they will show to the world what it is to believe in the ideal of collective living. They are not escapes from the sorrow-stricken world, nor are they replicas of utopian experiments. For they are natural results of ideological and mental changes effected in the world. And again while these colonies are founded the citizens inhabiting them do not keep themselves to secluded happiness—they go out to teach other people and work among them so that they, too, may in

their turn be ideologically so fired as to build
 suitable colonies for themselves. It is so to say
 a voluntary federation of these colonies that
 will usher in an age of universal socialism. This
 is a constructive plan of Theosophical Socialism.
 Although Theosophical Socialists are and will
 be engaged in parliamentary work for mitigating
 the evils resulting from modern social structure,
 although they will educate and organise people
 for the purposes of training them in collective
 work, although they will mobilise the intellectuals
 and the idealists of the world in an army of
 ideological revolutionaries, although they will
 work ceaselessly to change the mental atmos-
 phere and outlook of the world, although they
 will participate in all activities carried on for
 the purposes of establishing brotherhood in the
 world, they will regard all these as incomplete
 save as they form colonies giving a glimpse of
 what the world is to be and creating leaders
 for the guidance of that future social organisation.
 It is in these colonies that materials required
 for the prosperity of socialism will be produced.
 Humanity will thus rise to a higher level of
 evolution and externalise its social sense through

the experience of those who have become one with all humanity. Life dedicated to the ideal of Brotherhood is essential for the structure of socialism and it is this life that the colonies will supply.

Theosophical Socialism is not an idle dream hanging in the air. It has a very powerful instrument of its own through which it is ceaselessly trying to raise humanity to a new level of consciousness. This instrument is the Theosophical Society, founded in 1875 and spread out in no less than 49 countries of the world. It is a veritable League of Nations uniting peoples of all countries with unbreakable ties of brotherhood. It exists in the world to make this Human Fellowship a reality in the lives of the nations of the world. It gathers together all those who are afire with noble idealism of sacrifice, those who are ready to lay down their all for the fulfilment of humanity's plan. Not all its members have reached this level, but the Theosophical Society trains them to become model citizens, citizens who are not patriotic by fits and starts but who show forth in their daily lives the one concern of serving hum-

anity. Such is the noble purpose of the Theosophical Society. The chief aim of the Theosophical Society is to prepare the world for a new civilisation. And it has been doing this work through the dissemination of the wonderful teaching of Theosophy, through the popularisation of its great ideals, through the imparting of instructions regarding races and sub-races, regarding the Great Plan that exists for humanity as for each nation. Universal Brotherhood is going to be the cornerstone of the future order of society and it is to usher in this age that the Theosophical Society exists in the world. Theosophical Society is a nucleus gathering all who believe in the ideal of human fellowship, enthusing their lives with the magnificent ideals of the future that lies before humanity, cementing them with ties of boundless love. The Theosophical Society, active as it is in this field of ideology, untiringly insists on founding colonies based on brotherly living. The great World centres of the Theosophical Society are examples of true socialist and community living. These centres ever send out rays of inspiration to hundreds of the members of the

Theosophical Society living in various corners of the world. These centres ever remind the fellows of the Theosophical Society that they belong above all else to a band of servers pledged to stand by all those who suffer and are unhappy and to dispel the darkness that surrounds humanity. It is true that all members of the Theosophical Society have not yet realised their stupendous responsibilities but that is due to the failure of individual members rather than due to some inherent defect in the teaching of Theosophy.

The call of Theosophy is the call of service. The more a man understands Theosophy, the greater servant of humanity he becomes. To be a Theosophist is to be a Socialist of the truest type...not merely by professions but by actual living. Theosophy teaches men and women to live at a level of consciousness where humanity is to come after a lapse of many years. It takes humanity higher by the very reason that it trains its citizens to live a higher life. Theosophy is the key that unlocks the door of human happiness so that true Socialism may be the order of human society. Theosophy is the ideo-

logical light that illumines the life of humanity. Theosophical Society is the translation of this ideology into a model human organisation—reflecting however dimly the great wonder of Theosophy. For be it remembered that Theosophy is not the exclusive possession of the Theosophical Society, that it is not Theosophy that belongs to the Theosophical Society, rather it is that the Theosophical Society belongs to Theosophy. And so Theosophy must remain as a background of true Socialism guiding and inspiring its ideology. Whether this Theosophy finds an expression through the Theosophical Society or not is of comparatively little importance. But be it again emphasised, lest we forget, that this ideology of Theosophy must find a concrete expression in human organisation so that a nucleus of future Socialism might be created. And thus are Theosophy and the Theosophical Society linked with the future civilisation of humanity, the civilisation that will be based on the principles of true socialism.

But Theosophical Socialists must remain in minority for years to come. For Theosophical Socialism belongs to the future and

will become acceptable in its entirety to large sections of humanity only when they have reached a new level of psychological consciousness. But to-day it is not offered to large masses, it is offered to the leaders of humanity, those who profess to lead humanity to a better order of society. If they can grasp the fundamental principles underlying this scheme of social reconstruction and can reach to a higher consciousness in their individual lives, humanity will adopt a new mode of living ere long. It is offered to intellectuals, to idealists, to social reformers, so that they may imbibe the lofty ideals of Theosophical Socialism, may gather together these idealists and may either strengthen the existing nucleus of this socialism or start other nuclei so that Socialism may descend from above before it is forced from below. The world at present is primarily interested in socialist schemes of re-construction. Its whole attention is focussed in the distribution of economic goods. Its entire activity consists in evolving socialist theories. It is more interested in the material side of man than in anything else. This is due to the domination

of the higher mind and its expressions in social thinking. It is but natural that Theosophical Socialism may not appeal to humanity at present. It is possible that it may reject it as something visionary and impractical. But the field of Theosophical Socialism does not keep out material stability as we have seen. Its greatness lies in the fact, that it does not end there, for it is meant not for people who are only at the level of adopting social ideals, it serves also for those who have reached the level of social living and even higher when they have become one with humanity. This Theosophical Socialism is ment for pepole of the sixth sub-race and also for those of the sixth Root Race, the inauguration of which is the special work of the Theosophical Society. It puts this ideal before society and individual human beings in order that those eager among humanity might seize these ideals and try to live a life of socialist living and of indifference to material happiness so that the nucleus of the Sixth Root Race might be strengthened. Theosophical Socialism demands from its adherents not only social thinking but

also social living as well as a realisation of social unity in their individual lives, so that these Theosophical Socialists might serve as unbreakable bridges passing over which humanity might enter a realm of true socialism. Theosophical Socialism is the programme set for the Aryan Race, the programme that was given by its Great Founder at its inception. Every race has its programme and fulfils the same through sub-races and its national divisions. Manu's dream of Social organisation must find its highest expression in the seventh sub-race of the great Aryan Race. It is to prepare humanity and its leaders for that great fulfilment that Theosophical Socialism is propagated in the world. The fundamental purpose of Theosophical Socialism is to avoid human suffering by appealing to leaders of society to adopt measures that are far-reaching and comprehensive. Although it remains in minority it works for that glorious dawn when men and women on earth will live as brothers, as true human beings. Lenin said to his fellow-Bolsheviks "Is it not our duty to be able to remain for a while in minority against a mass frenzy?" This is

exactly what Theosophical Socialists have to face for they have no doubt that future lies with them and are prepared, with courage and cheerfulness, to court individual failures so that there might be universal success of true Socialism.

But Theosophical Socialists have no static conception of society. They do not believe that Socialism is the final word in social organisation, that there would be no progress of humanity after it has reached the stage of Theosophical Socialism. Theosophical Socialism is the culmination of 5th. Root Race but this culmination is only the beginning of the Sixth Root Race. Humanity will reach a still higher stage of human consciousness and will create human organisations far more superior than we can even imagine to-day. The function of the Sixth Root Race will be gradually to externalise the faculty of intuition and we at our level of human evolution can hardly perceive its grandeur. For lack of a better word, we might say that the future order of society in this race will be based on something like Spiritual Communism which will be inspired not merely by human fellowship but

by a sense of unity with all that lives. Material unhappiness can never exist there. It will be a society which will have harnessed all the forces of science and machinery to the cause of social welfare and so none will suffer from material want. Nay, it will have extended the principle of material stability to sub-human kingdoms too. The description of the conditions in the beginning of the Sixth Root Race is very graphically given by Bishop C. W. Leadbeater in his book on the same subject. As he says: "Food and clothing are given freely to all—or rather to each person is distributed periodically a number of tokens in exchange for one of which he can obtain a meal at any of the great restaurant gardens anywhere all over the colony." The dream of communism as envisaged by modern thinkers is but a very faint glimpse of what Spiritual Communism will be in the Sixth Root Race. It is impossible that this communism can come till the world has passed to the stage of true socialism and attempts at premature introduction must fail, as it failed in Russia just after the Russian Revolution. It is impossible to give here various fascinating features of the

civilisation that will come into being with the Sixth Root Race. There will be no private property, not because state will ban its existence, but because people will not need it. It will be a civilisation not based on money, but on culture and spirituality, a faint reflection of which was discussed while considering the Aristocratic democracy of Theosophical Socialism. People then will not be so much concerned with outer schemes of social organisation, for this communism will be based on universal love. It will be a society which will feel its unity not only with humanity, but will include in its Brotherhood the sub-human as well as the super-human entities. The stage of Spiritual Communism is very far and yet it will come into the world only as spiritual nuclei are created in humanity. All those who live a life of spiritual purposes are making the emergence of this Spiritual Communism easier in the world. It is the task of the Theosophical Society to prepare men and women who will lead their lives from now in a manner that will make this dream of Spiritual Communism a reality in this world.

Spiritual Socialism, Spiritual Commuism and yet a stage higher than this, the stage which humanity will reach in its Seventh Root Race. With our minds we cannot gauge its stupendous wonder. It must be a stage of Spiritual Anarchism, stage when human beings will know themselves as spiritual kings. Let us hear what Dr. Besant has to say about this stage of human civilisation, a stage that will come after many centuries, a stage when humanity will be externalising its Divine sense, the sense of Atma, the sense which relates man to his ultimate source. She tells us :

“ In the Seventh Root Race (that is a dangerous subject at the moment) you will get a condition where we shall need no laws: not the anarchy of the present but the order which comes from the development of the “ Inner Ruler Immortal” in which every man is a law unto himself, because self-ruled from within. That is a very very long way off, but none the less it will come”.*

But this anarchism can never be introduced to-day for its introduction and even its preaching to large masses of people must mean gravest

* Brahmavidya—A. B.

danger to society- It will come when human beings appropriate to that stage will be born. It will come when people have passed through the stages of Theosophical Socialism and Spiritual Communism. This is the highest stage set before humanity when men and women will realise themselves as truly divine and will rule themselves from within No longer will humanity require the machinery of state to compel its citizens to act in a particular way. Citizens will themselves be moved by inner compulsion so that ' Men will do what is best, kindest, sublimest, ' at the will of the Ruler within.

Such is indeed the glorious future that lies before us, one by one as humanity externalises various latent faculties in man, will this exquisite dream materialise before us. In order to make this dream a reality, a suitable human material will be inevitable, and so while humanity at large might take centuries and centuries to come to this realisation, there will be a few individuals who even now will train their lives so that they live a sublime and noble life obeying the Inner Ruler within. These are not doctrines to be

preached to the masses, the doctrines of communism and anarchism, but to be lived by those who aspire to become real leaders of humanity. While humanity finds itself in desolation and despair, let those who can see these wonderful dreams try to put new cheer and courage into the hearts of humanity. With all the sorrow and suffering around us, we are marching towards a glorious future. Let us with our thoughts and desires, with our ideals and our actions try to take humanity nearer and nearer to the great summit which is its sure destination.

Those who follow these great ideals must face a world that will refuse to appreciate them. The world will ridicule them, even oppress them. But such has always been the lot of idealists. And yet it is true that the world has always followed them. The greatest strength of all idealists lies in their willing crucifixion for the sake of their ideals. It is out of this crucifixion that a great power will be generated that shall make all humanity bow before these ideals. And so Theosophical Socialists must remain in minority for it is this minority that is their true strength. The world has always gone the way its minority has shown

with its idealism and with its sacrifice. It is small minorities intent upon some definite purpose that have changed humanity in its long history, The numerical weakness of Theosophical Socialism is really its spiritual strength. The path of Theosophical Socialism is not one which is strewn with roses, it is the way of pioneers who must always bear the brunt of the battle, who must suffer in order that others might be saved from that suffering. To court imprisonment or even execution is no doubt very hard, but to suffer ridicule and oppression day after day and yet to remain faithful to one's idealism is harder still. And it is this that is expected of Theosophical Socialists. Let them ever keep before them the following words of Bertrand Russell :

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“Those who are to begin the regeneration of the world must face loneliness, opposition, poverty, obloquy, They must be able to live by Truth and love, with a rational unconquerable hope. They must be honest and wise, fearless and guided by a consistent purpose, a body of men and women so inspired will conquer, though in a long time, the outer world. Wisdom and hope are what the world

needs and though it fights against them it gives its respect to them in the end." *

It is this wisdom and hope that Theosophical Socialists must give to the world and suffer whatever comes while discharging these duties. We have to create a spiritual hope in humanity while everything seems to be dark and desolate just as "St Augustine wrote the the city of God putting spiritual hope in place of material reality that was destroyed". It is this hope that will live and inspire humanity even in the midst of ruin and destruction. While the whole world stands confused and perplexed, let Theosophical Socialists create this new hope and of a surety the whole humanity will sooner or later realise the great value of this wonderful dream of Theosophical Socialism. The world needs Theosophy above all else although it might call this need by any other name. Let Theosophical Socialists become the torch-bearers of light in the midst of intense darkness that has enveloped the whole world. Theosophy is the elixir, and it is the function

* Why Men Fight—B. Russell.

of all Theosophical Socialists—not necessarily members of the Theosophical Society but all who accept this idealism and are prepared to work for it—to give this elixir to the dying world, no matter what opposition they have to face. Let them remember that out of their sacrifices and crucifixions will arise a better humanity that will make Theosophical Socialism a reality in this world.

Second Section.

PSYCHOLOGY.

Racial & National.

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Chapter I.

The Great Interrogation.

“.....The story of human evolution is a record of the unfolding of potentiality into power for that which man already is in essence, he must also become in active expression, a self-conscious creator like the Architect of the universe whose life he shares.” *

Prof. J. E. Marcault.

Is the universe we live in “a fortuitous concourse of atoms” or is there some Pattern behind it? Are all events appearing in the world mere sporadic happenings or are they controlled by some Guardian Agency? Is every event in

* Evolution of Man—Prof. Marcault.

history merely at the mercy of some heavenly God or is it proceeding to some Final Good ? Is human history a record of accidental experiences or is there some Intelligence behind it ? Is mankind merely groping in the dark or is it moving to some Predestined Goal ? Is the world a battleground for the satisfaction of individual whims or is it a School for the unfoldment of all that is best in man for the enrichment of humanity ? Is humanity a mere lump of clay to be moulded by its Napoleons and Cromwells, its Mussolinis and Hitlers, its Lenins and Trotskys, or can some Purposeful Design be discerned behind the emergence of outstanding personalities and the outbreaks of revolutions ? Is it possible to give a satisfactory reply to the 'whys' of history ? Why did France witness a Revolution in the 18th. Century and no other country ? Why is Spain submerged by anarchist activities so much so that even her Socialism tends to be anarchist ? Why out of all the Latin countries did Spain first grant political franchise to women ? Why is China torn to pieces by internal chaos ? Why did Sun-Yat-Sen emphasise the need of China growing out of its family loyalties ? Why does India still live although many

other civilisations like that of Babylon, Syria; Egypt, Greece, Rome, have disappeared from the world-stage ? Why do parties seem to be working more satisfactorily in England than in most of the European countries ? Why did Greece rise to a great artistic peak and not any other nation of the world ? Why have the Italians rallied round Mussolini ? Why did socialism find its emergence first in Russia and not in any of the more advanced countries of Europe ? Why are political murders so common in Japan ? Why are the Japanese so very expert in business and in capturing world markets ? Why is Japan so very narrowly nationalistic ? Why does France adopt a very narrow nationalist attitude in all her dealings with other nation states in the League of Nations ? Why did Hitler rise to such prominence in Germany ? Why is Prussianism a synonym for militarism ? Why does England find it so very difficult to adjust her relations with Ireland ? Why have European legal systems been very largely based on Roman models ? Why does England carry on its administration with an unwritten constitution ? Why is India so very much fascinated by the Communist experiment

in Russia? Why is the working of political parties so very efficient in the United States of America? Why is Hitler talking of racial purity? Why is Mussolini extolling the virtues of war in many of his orations? Why is Hitler so eager to keep his relations with Britain quite cordial? Why does Mussolini look at women with contempt and regard them as mere possessions and decorations of man? Why does Hitler believe that real place for woman is in kitchen and in family and not in factories or political and social activities? Why did England precede other countries in Industrial Revolution and in the adoption of machinery as the mode of production? Why has England been free from 'bloody' revolutions? Why has England such a colonial empire which is an envy of other nations of the world? Why did France and Portugal fail to conquer India? Why is French Government so very centralised and why does America base her political institutions on the principle of Federalism? Are these and many more of such happenings mere chance events in history? Or is there some intelligent answer in reply to these innumerable questions? These are the questions that must arise in the

minds of every intelligent man and woman of to day. Earnest among these try to seek their solutions in religion and philosophy, in science and social history. Modern man is indeed in a state of mental turmoil and all the various theories of history and social progress propounded by thinkers and philosophers are but ways to understand this great human interrogation. Is there a Plan behind all happenings in history? Is there a Design in the universe?

Orthodox religion tries to answer these questions by telling us that the whole objective world is an illusion, that nothing but God exists and hence it is futile to understand that which is unreal. Or it says that the universe is just a crystallization of the Dream of God and all the happenings in the world are caused by His wire-pulling and none can understand the working of the Divine Mind. Or again it says man has but to resign himself to His will and thank Him for whatever fate comes to his lot, hoping for ever-lasting Bliss in heavens above. Although these answers of religion are not entirely wrong, they have failed to satisfy the intellectuals of our age; at least they have failed

to explain the various events in history and have appeared more like escapes than explanations.

There have been numberless idealistic philosophers in the world who have imagined the whole world process as marching to an Absolute Idea which God has placed as the fulfilment of this world. But the theories of these philosophers have been far from definite, for they have failed to trace the process of world evolution in harmony with this idea. They have taken shelter in only one comfort that since God rules the world everything must sooner or later reach the great heights on which He stands, ever watching the evolution of humanity. Beyond this they do not offer any explanation, for even this theory does not reveal the meanings of various historical events. These idealistic thinkers have failed to show orderly steps running through history. Although these theories are not quite wrong, they have been very vague, too indefinite to render us any help in understanding the historical process. These philosophers, like orthodox religionists have been far more interested in ultimate ideals than in the evolutionary process which leads to the realisation of these ideals.

There have been Materialist philosophers who have evolved their own theories of human progress. As against the idealistic philosophers, they have discarded teleology, the existence of an Absolute Idea to which humanity ever progresses. To them the explanations of these idealists have seemed to portray absolutely static conceptions of history. They have failed to find any common evolutionary thread in all the theories, either of the idealists or of the orthodox religionists. These Materialists have thought of the world as evolving more or less on the principles of Darwin. Human evolution according to them is just a process of natural selection through the "survival of the fittest," and not a matter of teleological movement or some plan guided by an intelligence. They have tried to explain all historical events in terms of matter, or better still in terms of economics, like Marx. Not teleology but technology has seemed to them to be the guiding factor behind all the happenings of history, both individual and racial. With a keen analysis of social forces these materialists have tried to explain all human history through matter and its movements. Now even according to modern science, matter is not a

basic reality, but only an emanation of life. Hence these philosophers have dealt only with the outward expressions of social life, that is only with the process and not with the causes of this process. These materialists have partly answered the 'how' of history, but the 'why' of it has remained utterly mysterious to them. They have been able to describe in minutest detail the process of the French Revolution, the forces that intensified it—but they stand silent before the questions: "Why did this Revolution happen in France? Why did France unfurl the banner of political liberty?" They have told us of the prosperous periods of Greece producing wonderful creations of art, but they have failed to explain to us "Why did not England in her own phenomenal prosperity produce similar art creations?" They have narrated to us the differences in French and American systems of Governments but they have hardly explained to us the reasons for these differences. They have described Napoleon as an imperialist, Mussolini as a Fascist, Hitler as a rank reactionary, but they shut their eyes to the problem: "Why did Mussolini come to power in Italy?"

Why was Hitler born in Austria ? Why Napoleon thrived in France ? " Such events in history whose explanations are evaded by Materialistic philosophers can be infinitely multiplied. The only answer provided by these philosophers is, that these things are sheer accidents. A revolution would have occurred anywhere, that it occurred in France was a simple accident. To say that there are chances in history is not to explain history. And so even this philosophy does not throw much light on the problem of human history. For just as religious interpretations of history are found inapplicable due to their philosophies of escape, just as idealistic interpretations are un-satisfactory because of their ignorance with regard to intervening steps, so do we find that materialistic philosophies are broken on the rock of 'chance.' The moment a philosophy introduces an element of chance, it ceases to be an intelligent philosophy. If history is strewn with chances, we are left in utter darkness with regard to the future of humanity. We need a philosophy that not only explains intelligently the past of humanity, but throws a light on the

present, and enables us to foresee the future. Materialistic philosophies with their elements of 'chance' in history, must evidently fail to do this.

And then when we turn to modern science, we find that even this stands confused before the mighty universal panorama. Once upon a time it felt very optimistic about its own discoveries—but today, it refuses to pronounce final opinions on the nature of this universe. One thing is certain, it has come to the conclusion that nature progresses along some well-thought out plan. From tiny satellites in a solar system to mighty globular and nebular clusters, there is orderliness in the universe, atleast, that is what astronomers have come to regard. This idea of Design is being expressed by ever-increasing number of scientific thinkers of today. But this is in the region of nature and not in the realm of man, and so it might be stated that this scientific trend has nothing to do with history and human evolution. But is not man a part of nature? If teleology is a possibility in nature, why can it not be so in the affairs of humanity? Perhaps man regards himself too great to be guided by some teleology! But modern psychology

tells us that "behind all varying lines of individual and collective action, laws are to be found, laws, which all of us in our utterly varying stages of consciousness follow—consciously or unconsciously." And so this means that even man, whether he likes it or not, is being ruled by some laws, not only in his individual behaviour but even in his collective or social activities. It means that human history is guided by some laws. What these laws are, has not been explained to us by modern psychology, just as modern scientific thinkers do not tell us what the plan in nature is, although they assert that there is orderliness in nature. Social scientists like Sir Arthur Kieth tell us that races of humanity have all their potential programmes which they fulfil in the course of their evolution. What these potential programmes are, is a question that is still shrouded in mystery. And so we find that natural science, modern psychology and social sciences all tend to one supposition, that there is orderliness in nature, that there are specific laws guiding both individual and collective actions, that there are potential programmes to be carried out by various races of humanity. It seems that these

natural, psychological and social sciences are throwing more light on the problem of human evolution than the philosophies we considered above. But if these philosophies contained elements of eacape, ignorance and chance, these scientific interpretations are yet far from complete, for, although they show us the direction in which to search for the solutions of the problems of human history, they do not offer us a definite clue to its understanding.

Alone among numerous philosophies of the world, Theosophy offers an interpretation of human evolution which makes every event in history thoroughly intelligible. Theosophy neither seeks escape into some Absolutism, nor keeps anything indefinite, nor does it leave things to mere chance. It stands on science, but takes modern science, present-day psychology and western sociology far far into the region which passes even their imaginations. It completes what these sciences have left incomplete. It is not wrong to say that Theosophy assigns to each philosophy its own rightful place. It neither rejects them in toto, nor does it accept them completely. One might

say that Theosophy has more religion in it than the greatest theories of religious interpretation of life, that it is more idealistic than the most idealistic philosophies of the world, that it is more materialistic than materialism itself, that it is more scientific than the profoundest sciences of the world. And yet Theosophy is more than these. Let us see how Theosophy enlightens us on the problems of history and human evolution.

Theosophy declares that there is a Plan in the universe according to which gradual evolution of things and beings proceeds. There is no indefiniteness about this Plan in Theosophy. We are not here concerned with the evolution of sub-human kingdoms and hence we will only discuss the Plan for Humanity as envisaged by Theosophy. It tells us that humanity marches onwards in its evolution through various races and sub-races, that emerge on the world-stage, from time to time. According to Theosophy there are Seven Root Races with their Seven Sub-races, each having seven Branch Races, through which humanity marches on to its goal. So far, in the history of the world, Four Root Races with their

respective seven sub-races and branch-races have appeared, the Fifth Root Race is just now spread all over the world and five sub-races of this Root Race with all their Branch-Races have already appeared. All these races form the history of humanity. The sixth and the seventh sub-races of the Fifth Root Race and the Sixth and the Seventh Root Races are still in the womb of the future. The beginnings of the Sixth Sub-race of the Fifth Root Race can even now be discerned from the new Racial type that is appearing in America. Theosophists are not alone in talking about races. Modern sociology tells us that there have been three races so far in humanity and they are the Black, the Red-yellow and the White. These are the Lemurian, the Atlantean and the Aryan races in Theosophical terminology. But Theosophy says that there have been two races before these whose historical and geological records are not available, particularly because human beings in those races did not possess dense physical bodies, as we do today. Modern sociology, although it records the existence of these three races, fails to give us any purpose with regard to them. Theosophy believes that

these races are no mere chance-happenings, no freak of nature. Each race, as well as its sub-race, has to fulfil some fundamental purpose and it is because of that, that they are brought into being. Dr. Besant tells us: "Races are classes in the School of God." Just as every school has its own curriculum, so has this School of God which Theosophy calls the Great Plan, and each class in this School has to complete that part of the curriculum which is assigned to it. Each completes its part through seven sub-races and even through branch—races. Dr. Besant says that the evolution of humanity proceeds by 'divisions of human stock into Races and sub—races and the sub-races again sub-dividing until we get great families of nations (branch races), nations and so on.' While describing these Races she tells us:

".....as you study the differences of Races, a great characteristic comes out in each as its main mark, and all the civilisation is built upon it. And so you find link after link as it were of great golden chain of humanity; and each link has its own beauty, each link has its own place in the wonderful chain." *

* World problems of Today.—A. B.

Thus is human history a golden chain linked together by various races that have appeared, each race developing its own characteristic, its own music so as to enrich the Great Orchestra of the Divine Plan. All the different civilisations that have emerged in world-history are reflections of the special traits that belonged to the races in which they flourished. Every race has a particular note to strike and it continues to exist so long as this note is not completely mastered. The moment this is done, the race disintegrates and humanity passes on to a next and a higher phase of its life. And so behind the rise and fall of civilisations, behind the emergence of great personages, behind the shooting up and destruction of great continents is the Mighty Hand of the Great Plan, ever gradually releasing its beauty and fulfilling its purpose through Races, sub-races, branch races and national divisions of these. This then is the contention of Theosophy with regard to human history. But some might say this is all vague, and ask "how does this help us to unravel the mystery of human evolution?" To say that each race has a particular note to sound is all very well, but how

does history become more intelligible by making this statement? How does the past of humanity get enlightened because of this statement about the existence of Races? How does it enable us to understand the present? How can this theory help us to foresee the future? Is not this Theosophical interpretation of history as vague as the assertions of other philosophies, above considered? Yes, but Theosophy does not merely mention this. It says that there are specific laws according to which these races are born and unless we understand these laws, we can never perceive the grandeur of the Great Plan, nor can we successfully answer the problems of history, much less can we see the present in its true perspective and peep into the future that one day must become as real as the present. These laws of racial development make human history entirely intelligible and enable us to rule out every element of chance from all its happenings.

The real credit of expounding these laws of racial development, of explaining the working of the Great Plan in all its various details, of evolving a few fundamental principles that run

like a common evolutionary thread behind all human history, goes to a man, very slender in bodily structure, intensely shy of facing large crowds, wonderfully modest inspite of all his accomplishments, very keenly intellectual, supremely reverent, unfailingly intuitive and exquisitely clear in his expositions. Such a man is Prof. J. E. Marcault, the Principal of the Theosophical World University, London, and now the General Secretary of the French Section of the Theosophical Society. Dr. G. S. Arundale, the President of the Theosophical Society, while on his European tour, recently wrote about him: ".....we were met by that great Theosophist and General Secretary of the French Section, Professor Marcault. His keen intelligence and deep intuition are immensely vivifying, while his devotion to Theosophy and to the Theosophical Society are of the greatest value to the Masters' work." It is no exaggeration to say that but for his theories of Racial Evolution, the idea of the Great Plan would have remained vague and perplexing even in the Theosophical literature. Of course, he has derived his inspiration from the 'Secret Doctrine' and the Mahatma Letters to Mr. Sinnet,' but

then, without his interpreting of these great works, we, the ordinary people, would have been lost in the mysterious labyrinth of these books. He has contributed something so very wonderful and unique, that in years to come he will be recognised as one of the greatest makers and moulders of world-thought. He has rendered an invaluable service, not only to Theosophy and the Theosophical Society, but, to the humanity at large by presenting a picture of world-evolution in all its exquisite beauty. One might say that Prof. Marcault is the Darwin of the 20th. Century, for just as Charles Darwin showed a common evolutionary thread in the confusing facts of Botany and Zoology of the 19th Century, so has Prof. Marcault given us an unfailing clue in the perplexing mass of facts gathered by sociology, psychology, ethnology, archaeology etc. so that evolution, both racial and individual, has become quite intelligible to us. To say that his theories throw light only on history is really to belittle the importance of his epoch-making contributions. For the fundamental laws of human evolution which he has so very explicitly propounded are such as throw a powerful search-

light on the problems of civilisations, of religions, of cultures, of sciences, of arts, of literatures, of mythologies, of history, of politics, of economics, of sociology, of psychology, of education, of ethics, of ceremonies and of every conceivable subject of human interest. In the light of his theories, history of human civilisations does not remain a sealed book of mystery; it becomes absolutely plain. No doubt, he has been assisted by a very illustrious band of workers, which, under his superb guidance, is carrying on researches in many departments of human activities. He and his noble band of workers are rendering a remarkable service to all humanity, not only by interpreting the past of human civilisations, but by presenting a vivid picture of the future, whose signs they perceive in the present. When politicians and statesmen, when teachers and parents, when scientists and social reformers, when writers and artists fully understand the theories of this remarkable man, they will find a new inspiration and impetus in their activities; nay, they will then be not blind, leading the blind, but, will become real leaders of humanity, who understanding the signs of the times will carry the world onwards



and forwards to a glorious future. Before we consider the actual theories of Prof. Marcault, let it be stated, in the interests of those who are not Theosophists, that he was formerly a professor of Psychology and French Literature at the Universities of Grenoble, Pisa and Claremont and that he was already a highly respected Intuitive psychologist even before he formulated his theories of Race Evolution. Beatrice Ensor, the Editor of 'New Era,' one of the finest journals of New Education in the world, while writing about him some fifteen years ago remarked: "Prof. Marcault has not only made a study of the New psychology and the child with special reference to the Intuition and the new type of child (the Intuitive) but he is also a member of the teaching profession, and brings the fruits of his practical experience for us to share." Such, indeed, is the tribute paid to him by one, who is a great student of psychology and pedagogy. Truly is it a fact that Prof. Marcault is well-versed in the sciences of the west and throws a new light on them, through his torch of Racial Psychology, inspired by a profound understanding of Theosophy. Just as Darwin's

' Origin of Species ' revolutionised most of the scientific conceptions of the last century, so will Marcault's theories of the Evolution of Consciousness bring about radical changes in the psychological conceptions, concerning civilisations, both of the past and of the future.

At the outset, let us see what Prof. Marcault has to say regarding the process of human evolution, let us see what is his conception of the growth of mankind, through the ages. Only as we understand this, shall we be able to grasp the fundamental laws underlying this progress. He tells us in his ' Evolution of Man: '

"No mere chance could have produced the orderly steps of progress which the human race has followed. Infinitely varied though it be in the richness of its details, the steady advance of the flowing tide of progress is clearly seen. Individual waves of families, tribes and nations may rise and fall, and break themselves upon the shore, but each such wave creeps a little further forward than its predecessors, and so the tide of humanity as a whole slowly advances." *

* "Evolution of Man" Prof. J. E. Marcault.

Thus is humanity ever progressing forward and there are no retrogressive steps in its long history. A particular civilisation might seem to us less evolved than its predecessors, but we ought not to compare the rising tide of today with the full tide of the past. Every wave of human civilisation takes humanity onwards and although it might miss the beauties of the waves that preceded it, it has its own grandeur to present. And without the contribution of each wave, the sea of human evolution can never be complete in its majesty. There is another important point to be considered in the above passage. It says or rather implies, that civilisations appear in the world, they rise to their highest peaks and then slowly disappear, or even suddenly collapse. The civilisations that follow have to cover the same ground that was traversed by their forerunners; but while they cover this ground, they go a step further, even as the waves of a sea, flowing in quick succession outbid each other. And so the oft-repeated phrase that history repeats itself is true, but not in the ordinary sense in which it is understood by us. History does

repeat itself, but on successively higher planes. One ought to say that history recapitulates itself and after each recapitulation carries humanity a little further. The law of re-capitulation is recognised both by biology and modern psychology. Prof. Marcault applies this same law to the field of civilisation. This cyclic law of human evolution has to be grasped in its completeness, if Prof. Marcault's theories are to be understood. This law declares that human evolution does not proceed in a straight line but in spirals, more like the waves of a sea than the shooting of a bullet. People express great disappointment at the modern civilisation, either because they look merely to the mountain sides and contrast them with the glorious summits of the past, or they do not take into consideration the whole progress of humanity, but point to some isolated instances of failures, of nations and individuals. But so long as we do not know the Plan, the purpose of the Plan and the potentialities of each civilisation that appears for the fulfilment of the Plan, so long this mistake of regarding the world as going backwards be committed. And

so, although the laws of re-capitulation and continuous human progress are necessary for the understanding of the process of evolution, the consideration of this process of continuous advancement requires to be thought out in greater detail, in order to open the dead-lock of civilisations.

Now what is this Plan and what are its expressions? How does it unfold itself? How does human evolution proceed? In the universe we find a duality of life and form. There are countless forms, diverse from each other, in the world; and behind all these forms, there is a life which runs like an electricity. But just as electricity is invisible and requires a point through which it can manifest, as either heat or sound, so does life need a point through which it can unfold itself through myriads of forms. This point where life meets outer form is termed; Consciousness. 'Life turned outwards is Consciousness' so says Dr. Besant in her 'Study in Consciousness.' And so, in the world we find not duality of life and form, but a trinity of life, form and their meeting place which is

Consciousness. This question of consciousness is very important in understanding Marcault's principles. For, his theory of Racial Evolution is based on Consciousness or the relationship between life and form, as he terms it. Prof. Marcault says that the relationship of life and form is not a constant thing. There is a continuous change in this relationship, i. e. the meeting place of life and form is not always the same. As on a ladder, this point ever shifts higher and higher as humanity evolves. In fact, humanity's evolution can be measured by the rung at which its life meets outer forms. And so, the history of humanity is the history of this changing relationship between life and form. Life has infinite possibilities, but it manifests itself through certain phases of consciousness. And so the record of human evolution is to be seen in the unfoldment of the phases of human consciousness. There have been destructions of forms where the manifesting life has required new point of meeting or a new phase of consciousness. If we try to look at history from the standpoint of its forms we will never be able to understand any plan or purpose in

human evolution. It is because of this that materialistic philosophers have told us: "How can there be any plan in the destruction of continents and mighty empires?" Human evolution looked at from the standpoint of consciousness does not present this problem, for it recognises that behind these destructions is proceeding a change of relationship between life and form. With every change in this relationship, new forms or new functions as life's instruments are created. The purpose of evolution as we have seen in the beginning of this chapter is to turn potentialities into power, or in other words to objectivise the Seven faculties or Principles of Man. It means, that what is potential in life is to be made a function of consciousness, and the evolution of humanity presents nothing but this process of objectivisation. According to Prof. Marcault, there are seven faculties of consciousness, or seven points at which life meets outer form and each point is successively higher than the other. These seven faculties of consciousness are as follows :—

Chart A.

1. Perception :— Passive : the building

of a stable mechanism.

2. Action :— Dynamic : Consciously directed motion.
3. Emotion :— Impulsive : the immediate reaction to environment.
4. Analytical Mind :—Separative : analytical, logical, personal mind.
5. Synthetic Mind :—Unifying : Synthetic, co-operative social mind.
6. Intuition :—Universal : Impersonality of thought and love.
7. Will :—Energising : Concentrated, purposive driving power.

Let us see what each of these phases of consciousness represents. How can we understand the manifestation of each phase of this consciousness? We have seen that consciousness is the meeting place of life and form, or in other words it is life's way of looking at the world. These seven phases are as it were seven windows, with glass panes of seven colours, each at a higher floor, throu-

gh which human beings look at the universal scenery. Now what does the first window with its seven coloured shutters present to us, what is life looked at from this window of Perception? Man at the level of perception can understand life only through a variety of sensations, a passive movement of bodily limbs, an influence of parental environment, an interest in the wonders of nature, a response to stable social institutions, an imitation of what others do and through a perfection of receptivity to outer stimuli. +++ When we say that a human being is at the level of perception, we mean that he gathers experience in the world through these ways. In the life of an individual we know that early years of infancy are characterised by these phases of consciousness. The second level of consciousness, the Activity stage of human beings, is marked by a fondness for constant change in surroundings, by extreme mobility, by formation of relationships in play and work, by interest in adventures, by establishment of teams for useful activities, by willing obedience to the orders of captains and generals and by an urge to

dare everything. +++ This level of consciousness is seen in little children when they are full of ceaseless activity and want to destroy things when not given opportunities to express this urge to activity. The third level of consciousness, that of Emotion, is characterised by a desire for family surroundings, by doing some work for friends and relatives, by forming contacts with persons of opposite sex, by an interest in religion, ethics, romance, poetry and astrology, by celebration of various festivities and organising of caste and family functions, by a love for mysticism and by a desire for ascetic life. +++ This stage is clearly to be seen in the adolescent period of any boy or girl. It is not contended here that all these elements are to be seen, all at once in human beings at this level. The fourth level of Analytical mind is represented by formation of individuality, by a revolt against authority, by a love for persons engaged in science and freethinking, by an interest in science as well as in business, by working in nationalist and political organisations, by a discarding of all truths, save those which appeal to reason and by an emphasis on the

perfection of outer forms. + + + One does see many of these traits in the life of students who have entered Colleges and Universities. The level of Synthetic mind is characterised by a sensitiveness to human contact, by a spirit of martyrdom, by a desire for friendship with the opposite sex, by an interest in philosophy and idealism, by a service of humanity and sacredness of institutions, by community living and by an emphasis on international outlooks. + + + The level of Intuition is marked by its reponse to culture, by its dynamism, by its universality of love, by its interest in the sciences of Time as against the sciences of Space, by service of all created things, by its relativism and creativeness and by its emphasis on spirituality. + + + The last and the seventh level of consciousness, that of Will, is represented by a response to an inner urge by an executive ability, by nobility of behaviour, by an understanding of universal causation, by a complete sacrifice for human good, by a mastery over forms and by a perfection in action and expression. +++ These various traits here enumerated do not exhaust all the qualities that each phase of consciousness

represents. This enumeration is given just to make these levels of consciousness clear by a few salient points. We have seen that the four lower phases are to be found in all human beings today. The higher three are to be seen in very rare cases, and the reason for this will be given while considering these levels of consciousness in relation with races of humanity. For just as these characteristics are to be found in lives of individuals so, are they to be seen in the life of humanity, through its successive stages of races and civilisations. Every nation has its own window through which it looks at the world and the purpose of human beings born in various nations is to master that particular way of looking at the world, which is assigned to it. Differences in various civilisations are due to the fact, that there are diverse ways of looking at the world and its myriads of forms. The apparent similarities to be found in them are due to the law of recapitulation of history at higher levels. But before we consider the application of these phases of consciousness to the life of nations, we must have clear conceptions about what a race is. About

this racial evolution, Prof. Marcault says:

"The whole scheme of racial evolution can have nothing but an academic interest, unless it is recognised that the evolution of the race is the measure of the unfoldment of the individuals composing that race." *

This means that in the psychological level of a race is reflected the stage of consciousness of human beings, composing that particular race. But be it remembered, that these individuals are not the creations of the races to which they belong, rather the psychological growth of individuals is the cause of the emergence of the races of which they are the constituent parts. The question arises how those individuals reached these levels of consciousness ? The only answer to this question, as well as to the problem of Race Evolution is to be found in the Theory of Re-incarnation. Individuals through successive lives have been evolving i. e. have been passing to different stages of consciousness and races and civilisations appropriate to various levels of their psychological growth are brought into being.

* Evolution of Man. Prof. Marcault.

To trace racial evolution is to trace the development of individuals through their successive incarnations. Unless this fact of Re-incarnation is grasped, the problem of human evolution can never be fully understood; for without that, an element of chance must be introduced in the consideration of this question. It must also be remembered that in every race there are persons who are more advanced than average individuals of that race. It is through these people who have risen to a higher level of consciousness in their individual lives after a training in some Mystery Schools, that humanity passes to a new psychological level and with this rise in the level of consciousness, new races and civilisations are born. Evolution of humanity invariably proceeds on this principle. Prof. Marcault tells us:

“ Unless we reverse the materialistic outlook of the sociologists, we cannot see the law of human evolution in its true light. Life ever proceeds from above to the below, never from below to the above; the water level in a tank only rises because the water descends from above.” *

Thus a race is a group of egos evolving at .

* Evolution of Man—Prof. Marcault.

the same level of consciousness, it is a group of individuals who look at the world from the same floor of human edifice. A Race means a collection of men and women who have come to the same level of psychological growth through successive incarnations in different races. And so a race is to be judged from the psychological level of its average individuals. Again progress in a race is caused by the rise in the level of human consciousness effected by the descending of new powers in humanity through the experiences of a few advanced individuals. This then is the conception of a race and the general cause of its development.

And now let us consider the above mentioned phases of consciousness with reference to races and civilisations and see how this racial theory answers all the questions of civilisations, the questions that other philosophies and sciences have failed to answer. This Racial Theory is so very precise that the whole human evolution is like an open book before it. We have seen that these phases of consciousness are to be clearly seen in the life of individuals. Any teacher or parent, who has attentively watched

the progress of children put under his care must have found the unfoldment of various phases of consciousness in them, as they march on the ladder of consciousness from one psychological rung to another. Not only this, in the world, when we look at different individuals we can clearly say to which level of consciousness he belongs by studying his responses, his reactions, his attachments, his interests, his outlooks, his behaviour and his emphasis in life. Such a study of consciousness must help educators a great deal, for they would understand various levels of consciousness of their children and realise that uniform education to all is an absurdity. For it must be borne in mind that although individuals born in the same race are at the same general level of consciousness, yet these individuals must have their own individual indexes of psychological growth. For human evolution is essentially individual and not social. The question of individual psychology is not the subject of this book and hence we must leave this intensely fascinating subject here. Those who are interested in the subject are requested to study the most illuminating lectures on education and psychology

given by Prof. Marcault on various occasions and published in the Theosophical World University Bulletins as also in separate pamphlets available from the Theosophical Society, London.

We must now turn to the question of races and their development. If the psychological growth in terms of consciousness can be so very accurately measured in the case of individuals, is it possible so to do in the lives of races ? We cannot judge psychological levels of races by studying the lives of some individuals, for it is possible these individuals might be far ahead of the general psychological evolution of average individuals comprising a race. We must have some other instrument with which to judge the psychological heights of various races. Some might believe that in individual cases it is quite possible to gauge psychological levels, but races being so vast and complicated, whatever conclusions arrived at must remain mere surmises and cannot be accurately relied upon. But this is not really the case. With regard to races it is much easier to understand psychological levels than in the case of individuals.

Prof. Marcault tells us: " All these levels and sub—levels can be analysed with as much accuracy as the corresponding levels in individual psychology, with greater ease in fact, since the documentation is much more abundant in the history of a race." In judging psychological levels of races, we have at our disposal their histories, literatures, art productions, records of religious and ethical beliefs, sciences and philosophies, political and economic institutions and various other things which enable us to understand their positions in the evolutionary ladder of consciousness. By an exhaustive study of the whole civilisation of any race, it is possible to determine its psychological level with great accuracy. Having determined this psychological level, we shall see, that it is not at all difficult to answer the innumerable questions, which each civilisation presents to every intelligent man and woman. Just as from a psychological level of an individual, we can fully understand all his reactions to life, which to a teacher or a parent ignorant of it might seem quite mysterious, so can we understand all the responses, reactions, attachments, interests, out-

looks, behaviours and emphasis of humanity by finding out its psychological levels at different epochs of time, and guide them into proper channels. Interpretation of civilisations in terms of the growth of consciousness is entirely a new contribution of Prof. Marcault, and we shall presently see, in the next chapter, how this interpretation makes the story of human evolution absolutely intelligible.

Chapter II.

Evolution in Pre-Aryan Races.

" Atlantis peopled many countries with its sub-races and built many splendid civilisations. Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, North and South America knew them, and reached a point of glory that the Aryan Race has not yet overtopped." *

Having noted the general theory of racial evolution in the last chapter, we will now immediately proceed to the consideration of the psychological growth of humanity through different races. Our discussion of the first three races will be short, as scientific documentation at our disposal concerning these races is much less than about the later ones.

We have noted above that Theosophy declares that there are seven Root Races appearing

* " Man: Whence, How and Whither " Dr. Annie Besant and Bishop C. W. Leadbeater.

in humanity. In order to understand the whole conception of Evolution according to Theosophy, the following table might prove useful to our readers:

Chart. B.

Seven Branch-Races=One Sub-race,
 Seven Sub-Races=One Root Race,
 Seven Root Races=One World Period,
 Seven World Periods=One Round,
 Seven Rounds=One Chain,
 Seven Chains=One Scheme of Evolution,
 Seven or Ten Schemes of Evolution=One
 Solar System.

We are here concerned only with the World Period and not with other phases of evolution, as given by Theosophy. From the above chart, it will be plain that there are seven Root Races in one World Period and that these Root Races are divided into seven sub-races and these again are further sub-divided into seven-branch races or we might call them groups of nations. Evolution of humanity progresses through all these races and so in order to understand this great process of human evolution we must know the

functions and purposes of these races. Only as we understand this, can we have a full grasp of the problem of civilisations and their history. Theosophy says that these races are no mere accidental emergences on the surface of humanity. They have some definite purposes to achieve. The sole purpose, in general terms, of these races is to gradually help human beings to turn potentialities into power. We have seen that an individual in his life passes through various phases of consciousness and as he rises higher and higher in his psychological evolution, he perceives greater and greater beauty of the universal creation. Every rise in the level of consciousness enables an individual to grasp a fuller and fuller conception of life. Now a race has just to do this, viz to supply an objective environment so as to help individuals comprising it to rise to new levels of consciousness. It is because of this that we find in the life of races this same existence of different levels of consciousness. The function of each Race is to master one phase of consciousness, so that individuals born in it might be enabled to rise to a higher consciousness which another Root Race must represent. In order to make

this idea clear, the following chart might help the readers:

Chart C.

Centre of Consciousness.

1st.	Root	Race	...	...	in Sensation or Perception.
2nd.	"	"	...	...	" Activity or Mobility.
3rd.	"	"	...	...	" Emotion or Impulses.
4th.	"	"	...	...	" Analytical Mind or Separative Individuality.
5th.	"	"	...	...	" Synthetic Mind or Social Sense.
6th.	"	"	...	...	" Intuition or Cosmic Sense.
7th.	"	"	...	...	" Will or Divine Sense.

In each Root Race human consciousness is concentrated in each of these phases in succession. Just as an individual in his growth finds it concentrated in different levels, so, is the case with races. But it is not contended here that a race has not all the phases

within it or that human beings are devoid of other phases of consciousness, save the one on which they find their lives concentrated. All the phases of consciousness are present in an individual as also in a race, but they are not in the same category. There are some phases which are hidden from the conscious life of individuals, as if by a diaphragm, while there are certain phases which are so common to them that life can use these as it pleases. We know that an individual at the level of activity has within him emotions and even analytical mind. But he is not able to use these faculties consciously or in other words they are still subjective to the individual. It is not difficult for him to form images of things, it is very common to him and he can bring before his conscious self any image he pleases, of course from within his experience of the perception stage. It is not necessary for him to give all concentration of his life to these images because he has passed through the stage of perception and hence this faculty has become completely objectivised or has become an instrument in his hands. While the phase of activity is still one,

where he finds intense interest of his life, in fact, his whole life is concentrated here and his vision of the outer world is completely coloured by it. This phase where he finds his concentration of life is the absolute phase of consciousness for the individual. This absolute is being objectivised as he engages himself in various activities and the task of the teacher or the parent is to help this individual to pass through this process of objectivisation as soon as possible. So in every individual there are three groups of consciousness present, the subjective, the absolute and the objectivised or the instrumental. This is also the case with races, for every race has its absolute, its instrumental (save in the case of the first Root Race which has nothing as objectivised) and its subjective. The purpose of human evolution is to bring the subjective on the level of the absolute and then to objectivise it till all the faculties of consciousness have become instruments in the hands of humanity. So in other words, the purpose of evolution is to turn the subjective into the objective through the mediation of the absolute. This purpose of evolution is being worked out through these various races. But it must be

remembered that these phases of consciousness are not to be seen merely in Root Races. They are found in sub-races and even in branch-races and their further sub-divisions in nations. From individuals upwards in all the groupings of human beings in provinces, in nations, in branch-races, in sub-races and in root-races are to be seen these phases of consciousness with their subjective, the absolute and the instrumental. But the different levels of consciousness seen in sub-races and in other divisions remain under the dominant influence of the psychological level of the Root Race. The rule is, every sub-division passes through seven phases of consciousness only within the sphere of the level of the consciousness of the division just higher than itself. To be more clear, a nation passes through seven phases under the influence of the level of consciousness of a branch-race, while a branch-race does this within the dominance of a sub-race, which again remains in the sphere of the Root Race.

Now to come to the consideration of various races. We are told by Theosophy that there are seven Root Races in a World Period. Of these, four Root Races have already appeared on earth

with all their seven-sub-races and even further subdivisions. The fifth Root Race is just now running its course. The other races are still in the future. We cannot consider in details all these races in the scope of this book. For a fuller study of the problem of races, we would request our readers to go through the two small books of Prof. Marcault viz. 'The Evolution of Man' and 'The Next Step in Evolution.' We will see here the general development of races with regard to the growth of consciousness and just try to point out very briefly how this Racial theory explains the story of human evolution.

The First Root Race, which is termed the Polarian, is one which flourished in the Eocene period of geology, some 43 million years ago. We have no historical or geological records of this race and hence it is impossible to say much with regard to it. Modern ethnology does not even know the existence of this Race and it is in Occult investigations, in esoteric writings and in mythologies of nations that we have to look for the information about this race. We do not know what were its sub-races; what we are told is, that human beings had no dense physical bodies and hence we

fail to find any story of this race written on the records of the rocks. According to the table of races (Chart C) given above, we know that this Polarian Race must be on the Sensation or Perception level of consciousness. Hence humanity in this race must be engaged in forming sensations and building stable foundations for its existence, for this race reflected the infancy of mankind and learnt ' the alphabets, of sensation and perception. ' We are told that the Eocene period was full of great terrestrial disturbances and this is but natural, for sense impacts from these violent changes must gradually create stability of human existence, which is the purpose of sensation, and therefore of the first race. One might say that this was the ' Mineral ' stage of humanity when great climatic changes, volcanic eruptions, pressures, floods, tides, heat, cold, rain etc. gave impacts of diverse sensations to humanity. The infant of today is recapitulating the experiences of this Race in his life when he demands a variety of strong impacts in the shape of sound and colour. In the absence of any scientific data to prove our contentions, it is best to leave the

consideration of the First Root Race here.

The Second Root Race known as the Hyperborean by Theosophy is also unknown to modern ethnology. It must have flourished in the Oligocene period of geology, some 26 million years ago, a period full of luxuriant vegetation and abundant floras. One might say that this was the 'vegetable' stage of humanity. In terms of consciousness, this Root Race had its life concentrated in Activity. Prof. Marcault says that this race is a period of humanity when 'human life begins to organise its body into a vehicle of active expression through which it makes its influence felt upon its environment.' One finds that during this period there was a formation of regular human bodies from their jelly-like states in the former period. The first activities of human beings are to be seen here. The free extensions of limbs in order to move about and to catch things for eating are the most remarkable features of this age. It seems vital bodily organs must have been formed in this period. We also find that human beings, having passed through a variety of sensations during the first Root Race, here show some signs of uttering a language of sounds. This is clearly the stage of

activity. We know that a child when he enters a period of activity does not require to be kept in the atmosphere of sensations, he immediately recognises an image and tries to give some name to it in his broken and to us indistinguishable words. It is a language of sounds, as Madame Blavatsky calls it in her 'Secret Doctrine' (Vol. II). It is this sound language that first appeared in humanity during its stage of the Second Root Race. Prof. Marcault says:—

"Having gathered a number of sense images of the outer world during the first race period of perception, the Second Race man now seizes upon those images and, impressing upon them the dynamic power of his own life, uses them as means of expressing his intentions." *

The Third Root Race, called the Lemurian Race with a humanity having for the first time dense physical bodies, began in the Miocene period, some 18 million years ago and is known to modern ethnology as the Black Race. Modern sociology is not able to throw much light on this Black Race, not because we have no

* Evolution of Man— Prof. Marcault.



historical, geological and archaeological records, but because archaeological excavations are being done today mostly in Europe and to a certain extent in Egypt and Palestine. When these excavators will come to Africa, some parts of Australia, Ceylon and Easter Islands and examine the rock and other records to be found from their hidden treasures, they will certainly be able to tell us much more about this Race than they have so far done. However, just today we cannot go into details about this race, particularly because we have no scientific data to substantiate Occult assertions. This Race was on the level of Emotion, as far as its consciousness is concerned. The remnants of this race are still to be found in the primitive tribes of Central Africa and Australia. When our sociologists have made a thorough study of these primitive tribes, they will be able to tell us about many of the emotional traits of this Third Race. What we know about it according to Occult sources is, that the separation of sexes first appeared in this period, which is a sure index of its emotional quality. The study of their spoken languages shows that there are remarkable

traits of emotions to be seen in them. This race was almost an 'animal' level of humanity and people did live very largely in proximity of animals. Human beings in this race were truly living a life of impulses. Not that they had no mind, but this mind and its functions were still subjective to them, and hence they could not reflect upon or analyse the mind, while sensations and activity were already objectivised and hence had become instruments in their hands. We find that the Lemurian invariably worshipped an Animal God. If we study their religions, their rites, their systems of classifications, their social institutions, their social morality; in short, if we study the whole Negroid civilisation we will find the emotional level of human beings, comprising this race, as expressed through their attempts at establishing stable family lives, through their simple agriculture for the nourishment of families, through their group religion, through their interest in the miraculous movements of the stars, through their association of family groups, through their clan unity and its preservation against foreign elements and through the permeation of the idea of propitiating some God in all their

dealings. For information on all these important points, the reader is referred to the books of Prof. Marcault himself.

The Fourth Root Race is known as the Atlantean Race by Theosophy and modern ethnology calls it the Red-Yellow Race. It flourished in the Pliocene period, some 4 to 5 million years ago, on the now sunken continent of Atlantis. This race is still in existence and we find quite a number of people belonging to it even today. From the standpoint of consciousness, this race has its life concentrated on the level of the Analytical Mind. Emotions, activity and perceptions are its instruments, while synthetic mind, intuition and will are still subjective to the consciousness of human beings living in this race. Of course, when we say this, we mean the general mass of humanity in this Race and not its outstanding personalities. Now this Analytical Mind implies a Separative Individuality and a keen intellect which is able to analyse space i.e. is able to classify things and have conceptions about space. Science in its pure form is to be seen at this level. Man

in his modern form appears in this age for in the Lemurian period there was only an 'animal man.' It is only in the Atlantean Race that we see a man with mind as his absolute function. It is here that we find humanity rising above family conceptions and becoming nationally conscious, although family still remains the unit of a nation for it is this aspect of human relationship that has been objectivised by persons of this race. This race is again marked by its practical outlook on life. When archaeologists will carry on further excavations in Central America, they are bound to come across innumerable instances of this Analytical Mind. The seven sub-races through which this Root Race has passed are according to Theosophy as follows:

Chart D.

1st.	...	Rmoahals.	4 to 5 million years ago.			
2nd.	...	Tlavatli.	2 to 3	„	„	„
3rd.	...	Toltecs.	1 to 2	„	„	„
4th.	...	Turanians.	900,000	„		,
5th.	...	Semites.	850,000	„		„
6th.	...	Akkadians.	800,000	„		„
7th.	...	Mongolians.	600,000	„		„

These seven sub—races have successively passed through seven phases of consciousness but within the sphere and influence of the Analytical Mind, expressed through perception, activity and emotion, in the first three sub-races, while the last three have Analytical Mind using the descent of Social Sense, Intuition and Will. The fourth sub-race of this Root race i. e. the Turanian finds itself expressing the Analytical Mind in its truest sense. For the purposes of understanding the psychological traits of each of the sub-races of the Atlantean Root Race, the following chart might prove useful:

Chart E.

- 1st. Sub-race, Rmoahals, Analytical Mind concentrated in Perception.
- 2nd. Sub-race, Tlavatli, Analytical Mind concentrated in Action.
- 3rd. Sub-race, Toltecs, Analytical Mind concentrated in Emotion.
- 4th. Sub-race, Turanians, Analytical Mind concentrated in Analytical Mind.
- 5th. Sub-race, Semites, Social Sense descending into Analytical Mind.

6th. Sub-race, Akkadians, Cosmic Sense descending into Analytical Mind.

7th. Sub-race, Mongolians, Divine Sense descending into Analytical Mind.

These are the seven stages through which the Atlantean Race has passed and one might say, come to the perfection of the Analytical Mind in its Mongolian sub-race. We might very briefly see what each of these levels implies. The general characteristics of the Atlantean race can be summed up thus; a fondness to grow in perfect state-order and stability, a half-conscious allegiance to state-officials, a religion of elaborate rules and regulations, a birth of patriotism chiefly inspired by the glories of the past, a penetration of other countries through commerce and finance, a development of formal and decorative arts and an emphasis of political state over all other departments of a nation.

Now the first sub-race, the Rmoahals, had, as we have seen, its Analytical Mind expressing through sensation-perception. It means that humanity at this stage was trying to seek a

stability of thought or rather we might say that human beings in this race were first becoming conscious of their Minds, even as the first root race gave a stability and consciousness of physical existence to human beings. We might say that men and women in this race for the first time knew themselves as really human beings, quite distinct from animals. The remnants of this race were found by Science in the Foor-fooz or the Neanderthal Man and the Lapps living in Alaska. The distinguishing marks of the Rmoahals must have been: a passive growth under law and order, a blind obedience to state regulations, a patronising feeling towards animals, a beginning of the conception of 'I'-ness, a fondness for the company of men, an aspiration to imitate outwardly the lives of past spiritual teachers and an emphasis on the physical expression of every thought.

The second sub-race, the Tlavatli, expressed its Analytical Mind through Activity, as the above chart shows. This means that after becoming conscious of their minds, human beings in this race attempted to understand the world through their minds, especially by forming mental

concepts and classifying the objects they saw according to their qualities. We might say that humanity first learnt the alphabets of thinking in this race. The representatives of this race were discovered by science among the Cromagnards and the Lake-dwellers of Central Europe. Patagonians as also old Dravidians belonged to this race. Human beings of this race were very tall and long-headed and are known today as part of modern man's direct ancestry. People of Patagonia in South America, now politically divided between Chile and Argentine, belonged to this race and were of an unusually large bodily stature and this must have greatly facilitated the expression of their vital and active urges. The great physical vigour of modern Dravidians of South India, who also belong to this race, is probably due to their activity level. The main characteristics of this race must have been quick response to state orders, an ability for strenuous and concentrated physical work, a worship of God conceived as mighty in physical prowess and huge in bodily stature, an obedience to tribal lord, able to defeat others in battles, a spirit of adventure, resulting in going to different

lands for the sake of professions and commerce, a fascination for bodily decorations and a skill in warfare and an emphasis on manual labour in order to keep up the superiority of man over animals.

The third sub-race, the Toltecs, had its Analytical Mind focussed in Emotions. The representatives of this race are to be seen in the modern American Indians. The function of this race was to objectivise emotion, not pure emotion like the Lemurians, but, emotion tinged with the qualities of the Analytical Mind. We have seen above that emotional stage corresponds with animals in the ladder of evolution. And so this sub-race expresses its mental concepts in terms of animals. Pure mind is still subjective to this race and hence one finds that whatever of mind enters into this race has to remain within the bounds of emotion. Hence we find an element of magic in all their conceptions of life. But one must not confound this race with the Lemurians, for the descent of mind is quite evident in this race. For example, their moral and ethical concepts are more individualised than that of the Lemurians. It is said that in the

religion of this race, individuals had a greater share in its rites, nay, Prof. Marcault remarks, "He has a personal religion; he prays and performs rites, individually." This personal element is a clear indication of the Analytical Mind. The elaboration of religious organisations is also indicative of Mind expressing through emotions, for elaboration belongs to mind and religious sentiments to emotion. One ought to study the traits of the American Indians in order to trace their Mind-Emotion level, as also the Peruvian Civilisation through the excavations in Central America. The Inca empire whose remains have been found by modern excavators in Central and South America, covered the whole of Peru and extended upto a part of modern Bolivia and Chile. It is said that the people of this Empire worshipped the Sun—like modern Parsees, a mark of their emotional level. Beautiful palaces and temples unearthed show that this civilisation must have been highly religious. The Maya civilisation was also a characteristic period of the emotional level of the Atlantean Race. The chief characteristics of the Toltec race must have been: a fondness for ancient religious and

monastic atmosphere, religious sacrifices for the propitiation of national gods, a great elaboration of religious observances, a loyalty to King and Chief as the incarnation and embodiment of group consciousness, formations of groups as units of society, a development of rhythmic and melodious music and self-mastery in pain and torture.

It must also be remembered that each sub-race passes through seven sub-levels and that those phases of consciousness that are subjective also press upon each race and influence particularly their religions and appear as taboos. One cannot go into details about all these in this book. Once again we refer the reader to the books of Prof. Marcault.

The fourth sub-race, the Turanian, is the highest expression of the Analytical Mind. This race is represented by Inland Chinese and Aztecs who lived in Mexico when Spaniards invaded that country. Pure Science must have made its first appearance in this race. It is no wonder that Confucious with his elaborate rules and regulations of human conduct lived in this Chinese race. We also know that the Chinese

were the first human beings who knew the art of paper-making. Extreme analysis of things and space are the main characteristics of this race. One should not confound the modern Chinese with the inhabitants of this race, for the former is a mixture of diverse races and perhaps belongs to some other sub-level of this Race. It is said that Astronomy was greatly studied by the Ancient Chinese and the Aztecs also knew much of this science. Astronomy is clearly the science of space and it is natural that this race found great delight in it. One must not forget that Mind was still the Absolute with this race and hence human beings in it could not utilise Mind as an instrument for gathering experience. If one studies the great Chinese Civilisation one would unfailingly find good many evidences to show that it was supremely at the level of separative Mind. The modern Chinese has kept up one trait of this Analytical Mind in his practical sense in business. The salient features of the Turanian race are: a fondness for national atmosphere, a personal and aggressive pride in protecting national traditions, an observance of a practical religion of worldly success, of course

within the limits of an ethical conduct, a great skill in business and commerce, an establishment of organisations for national solidarity, an extreme care for the perfection of details in art and a control of political machinery by strong individuals.

The fifth sub-race, the Semites, represented the descent of social sense in Analytical Mind. We have seen that the consciousness of the fourth sub-race was focussed in the Analytical Mind with no restrictions over its expressions. The lower three sub-races showed a limitation of mind within the sphere perception, activity and emotion. With the fifth sub-race, we witness not a limitation of Mind but an expansion of it. In the Analytical mind is now poured the waters of the social sense; but this social sence is naturally coloured by the Analytical mind in its process of expression. And so Analytical Mind catches hold of social sense which is subjective to the whole Atlantean Race, but utilises it to its own advantage. We might say that in this race Analytical mind is sprinkled with social sense. The modern representatives of this race are the Jews and the Ka-

byles. We know quite a lot about this Jewish race and can discern in them even today many of the characteristics of Analytical Mind inspired by Social Sense. We know that social sense represents Internationalism. The Semites or the Jews have exhibited this trait but curiously enough their Internationalism has been effected more by Finance and Business than by a true sense of International Fellowship. This narrowing down of Internationalism is due to the Analytical Mind level of the Atlantean Race to which they belong. The characteristic of this Fifth Sub-race is Individuality slightly tempered by social sense. This race combines idealism with intensely practical outlook. It is said that we owe our banking systems largely to the Jews, and it might be so, for this banking represents a human activity in which the idea of social usefulness is there but at the same time it is intended for the benefit of individual bankers and financiers. We know that the Jews carried on money-lending on a large scale, for thereby they satisfied on the one hand their conscience by believing that they were becoming useful to society, while on the other hand

they amassed money for themselves. This trait is a clear indication of their Analytical Mind level tinged by social sense and twisting the inspiration of the social sense for the purposes of the analytical mind. One need not enter into detailed descriptions of this race for the following enumeration of various features would serve the earnest reader to understand the great Semitic Civilisation. The characteristics of the fifth race must have been: an adherence to national institutions, a ceaseless wanderings into different nations for commerce and financial interests, a religion based on law and an elaborate ceremonial with an element of collective worship, a great development of banking systems, an international association of widely distributed nationals, a practical idealism expressing spiritual conceptions and an emphasis on absolute freedom of economic institutions from all political control.

The sixth sub-race, the Akkadians, represents the expansion of Analytical Mind into its sixth level, the Intuition. Intuition descends into Analytical Mind in this Sub-race and we again find Mind sprinkled with Intuition. Now Intuition represents Beauty, Spirituality, Dyna-

mism, Immediate perception of things without the process of reasoning, Relativity, Impersonality of thought and love and many other traits. One does not find Intuition in its purest form in this Sub-race, nay, far from it, for Intuition in its true sublimity can be seen only in the Sixth Root Race. Intuition descending in the sixth—sub-race of the Atlantean Race is one which is twisted and coloured by the Analytical Mind. And so we may find Beauty, but beauty that is only formal, beauty in classification, in analysis and perfection of details. We may find spirituality, but the notion of spirituality in this race must be limited to the perception of Mind and hence what appeals to reason is spiritual. This race was represented by Phoenicians and Etruscans. It is said that the Etruscans displayed great artistic sense and they also possessed keen insight for decoration and used gold, silver and other metals for these purposes. It is herein that we see the sixth level of the Analytical Mind expressed in this race. This civilisation, it seems, excelled in decorative arts, the translation of Intuition in the language of the Analytical mind. It is said by some that Rome owed much to the Etruscan

civilisation. This might be possible for Rome, as we shall see later, represented the fourth level of the Fifth Root Race and the Etruscans being also in the Fourth Root Race quite possibly have contributed to the greatness of the Roman Civilisation. The study of the Etruscan civilisation must prove very fascinating, for humanity today is on the threshold of its new sixth sub-level as we shall see in the course of the discussion of the Fifth Root Race. The excavations of Sumer and Akkad are bound to reveal very astounding facts concerning this race. Archaeologists have already surmised that the ancient civilisations of these lands must have been very highly cultured. It is said that the Phoenicians were a great commercial community and were also colonisers—quite possible, for the analytical mind is reflected in her commerce and the dynamism of intuition is seen in her efforts at colonising. The Basques, living in the provinces of Biscay, Alava, Gulpuzcoa and Navarre in Northern Spain belonged also to this race. They were a very vigorous people, extremely independent—quite consistent with the sixth level. But it is said that they were intensely conservative, again in harmony with the

analytical mind which always respects the past. It is also remarked that their folk-dances are even to day extremely interesting. Carthegenians also belonged to this race and it is stated that Carthage was settled by the Phoenicians of Tyre under the leadership of Queen Dido. They were also very vigourous and their commerce spread all over the then known world; the linking together of the world through commerce—surely an example of analytical mind sprinkled with intuition. The main characteristics of the Akkadians are: a fondness for past cultural atmosphere of a nation, an irresistible drive for bringing other people under one national sovereignty, an extremely individualistic religion based on logic and reason, a rule of the intellegentzia, a faint reflection of world unity through commerce and an exchange of art creations, a personal and dynamic element in art, particulary in dancing and an emphasis on the advanced and the experienced guiding national affairs.

We come at last to the seventh and the last sub-race of the Atlantean Root Race, called the Mongolian Race. The Japanese, the Malayese

the Magyars and the Eskimos are the representatives of this race in our times. This race it must be remembered is the culmination of the Analytical Mind, for Mind in this race reaches to its greatest expansion through the slight descent of Will or Divine Sense. Will as we know means a power of execution. It also means a mastery of circumstances. Will also implies perfection and purposefulness. In the Japanese race we shall find this perfection of the analytical mind when they reach their racial summit. Japan will be the fulfilment of the Atlantean Race through the incorporation of all the best elements that characterised other six sub-races of the Fourth Root Race. The Japanese combine within themselves these features of the past races and also put their own contribution into the development and expression of the Analytical Mind. As for example, we find that the Japanese have great sense of art but their art has a symbolic expression as seen from their poetry containing only two or three lines or from their paintings which exhibit this element of symbolism. The symbolic element is representative of will which remains free from all outer limitations. It is said that the Japanese have

another characteristic viz. of having only one picture at a time in their drawing rooms. This element explains their analytical level for the analytical mind always wants to concentrate and not to diffuse its attention. There is another thing. The analytical mind expresses in terms of politics or isolated nationalism. Japan that way is an example of extreme nationalism. Japan in a way strikes the note of the Atlantean Race by showing forth Nationalism in its strongest phase. We do not say that Japan's present-day nationalism is the ideal or the highest form of it. It must be remembered that Japan too passes through its various sub-levels and hence even its nationalism will find finer and finer expressions. But, at the same time it must be borne in mind, that its nationalism will always remain predominantly separative and even when it assumes international character, as it has done, its internationalism will remain subservient to nationalism. The withdrawal of Japan from the League of Nations when her national supremacy was challenged clearly shows that she can never compromise with other nations on the point of her nationalism. Her

Imperialism is also a typically Atlantean Imperialism, for the Japanese are ill-suited to found colonies and hence their idea of Imperialism is simply annexation and not colonisation. It is said that Japanese statesmen are trying their level best to persuade Japanese nationals to colonise Manchuria, but so far it has been of no avail. We believe that Japan can never become an Imperial Nation like the British, for colonisation is the trait of the Synthetic Mind. One can give numerous instances to show the psychological level of Japan. It is said that in Japan there are volumes written on the art of arranging flowers in vases in the drawing rooms of the Japanese people. This is quite in harmony with the race level, for it shows to what length of analysis and classification Japan can go. Japan is also regarded as the land of fashions, and this is as it ought to be, for perfection of outer form is the marked feature of Analytical Mind tinged with will. The state worship, the highest regard for state honour, the keen sense of business and market-capturing, the respect for past traditions, growth of Capitalism through the subvention of State, the considering of women as the property

of man, etc. etc. show that Japan is really at the level of the seventh stage of Analytical Mind. We cannot enter into arguments to prove this, since this is not a book on Racial psychology, but there is no doubt that a detailed study of Japan and other nations at the last level of the Atlantean Race will amply repay the labours done, for it will very clearly show that the psychological key provided by Prof. Marcault is so very remarkable that it opens all the doors of civilisations. The failure of socialist rebellion in Hungary and the absence of any socialist movement in Japan are no mere accidents, for both these countries are at the level of the Analytical Mind and hence at the stage of nationalism, and socialism can never fit into their psychological framework. Any attempt to force Socialism in these countries are bound to result in disaster, for socialism essentially belongs to the race which we are going to consider now. And so the distinguishing features of the Mongolian race are: a self-conscious realisation of nationhood, a willing sacrifice for the protection of national honour, a following of state religion, a perfection of political machinery, an imperialism of annexation

and conquest, a perfection in decorative and formal art and a subordination of everything to national and political interests.

Here ends our brief discussion of the Atlantean Race. We have tried to show how the Analytical Mind passes through seven stages of its expression, each stage representing one of the seven levels of consciousness. This discussion is only illustrative and does not profess to be exhaustive. Our only aim is to show how psychological interpretation of races explains every phase of civilisation. Those interested in the subject must pursue it further and carry on their own researches.

Chapter III.

Evolution in Aryan Races—Part

(First Four Sub-races.)

“...this civilisation of the city as a state (you can leave out the element of slavery) one of the finest in the intellectual conceptions of society it is possible to find. It was the splendid intellect—with the emotional side which made it worship beauty, and brought the arts to so high a point—that built up the wonderful fabric of the state, and made the Athenian Citizen.” *

Annie Besant.

We must now come to the consideration of the Fifth Root Race. This Race is known in Theosophical terminology as the Aryan Race, while modern ethnology calls it the White Race. The main purpose of this Race is to objectify the Social Sense of humanity. Intuition and Analogy are still subjective to this race, while analysis

* “Brahmavidya”—Annie Besant

mind, emotion, activity, perception have become instruments in its hands. When it is said that modern civilisation, which is the Fifth Root Race civilisation, is a mind civilisation, it is in a sense correct, for mind is for the first time becoming the instrument of experience and experiment in the life of humanity. During the Atlantean Civilisation, mind was absolute with human beings. The Aryan Race for the first time shows to man that he can use his mind just as he pleases, even as he learnt to use emotions, bodily muscles and sense perceptions in earlier ages. "In this race man reaches the level of the synthetic or higher (social) mind." says Prof. Marcault. Analytical mind can only think in terms of concrete objects, while synthetic mind conceives in terms of universal principles that underly all concrete phenomena. Analytical mind again can grasp the properties of space, while synthetic mind understands the flow of vegetable and animal time. Analytical mind perceives the particular while synthetic mind is concerned with the general. The former follows the inductive while the latter the deductive process of reason.

ning. The other factors of synthetic mind are its adherence to social institutions and to philosophical systems, its distribution of civic activities through federal systems of governments, its proclamation of the ideal of Duty and sacrifice as the highest expressions of individual and social life, its drive at forming organisations, associations and societies, its aiming at Internationalism, its faith in socialism and collectivism, its conception of comradeship between sexes, its loyalty to Democracy and governments by the consent of the governed, a development of applied science and its adoption of machinery as a mode of production, its unification of the world through economic activities and its emphasis on the duties of citizenship above all else. The Fifth Root Race through all its sub-races and branch-races slowly objectivises this synthetic or social mind. We have such an immense historical, ethnological and geological data before us concerning this race, that it is well-nigh impossible to condense the whole thing in few lines or paragraphs or even pages. We shall deal only with some of the most outstanding features of this race and its sub-levels, just as we did in the case of the Atlantean Race.

There is one important thing with regard to races that we might consider before we proceed to the discussion of the actual characteristics of the Aryan Race. The sciences and the arts to be seen so wonderfully developed in our times were not entirely unknown to peoples of the previous ages. In every race there are a few individuals who are more advanced than average human beings, those who belong to Mystery Schools and learn what remains essentially Esoteric to general mass of human beings. It is these people, who have risen higher in their individual levels of consciousness, that know sciences and arts long before they are known to other average human beings. When we say that races in ancient times did know them, we mean that it was known to persons in the Mystery Schools, to the Initiates and not to the race as a whole. This fact should be understood in order that no injustice may be done both to the Seers of past ages and to the Scientists and social reformers of present times. What the former did was to understand these sciences and arts owing to their individual growth, which was far ahead of the racial evolution. What the

latter have done is to make known to general humanity what was hidden from them due to an incomplete growth of racial consciousness.

Now with the aryan race. We know very little about the beginnings of this race, and when we say this, we mean that very little is known to modern ethnologists about the early years of this race. Occult sciences have thrown great light on the beginnings of this race but since we have relied largely on scientific data, we will not take into consideration these Occult investigations. The Aryan Race had its beginning in Central Asia about 75,000 B. C. and from there, successive waves of migrations went into different parts of the world. The various de-viations from this Race went to India, Egypt, Persia and Europe. The seven sub-races of the Aryan Root Race are as follows:—

Chart F.

Hindu—began its separate existence:	60,000 B.C.		
Egyptian-Arabic	„	„	40,000 „ „
Iranian	„	„	30,000 „ „
Mediterranean	„	„	20,000 „ „

Nordic	„	„	20,000 „ „
Now appearing	...	...	...
Still in the future	...	...	...

From the above chart, we can see that the Aryan Race has come upto its Fifth Sub-race and the other two races are still to emerge on the world-stage. This means that the objectivisation of Synthetic Mind or Social Sense, which is the particular function of the Aryan Race, has reached its fifth sub-level and other two stages of the exteriorisation of the social sense still remain, before humanity can pass on to the higher phase of consciousness. In terms of Consciousness, we can classify the Aryan Race in the following manner:

Chart G.

1st. Sub-race-Hindu-Social Sense concentrated in Perception.

2nd. Sub-race-Egyptian-Arabic—Social Sense concentrated in Activity.

3rd. Sub-race—Iranian—Social Sense concentrated in Emotion.

4th. Sub-race—Mediterranean-Social sense concentrated in Analytical Mind.

5th. Sub-race—Nordic-Social Sense concentrated in Synthetic Mind.

6th. Sub-race—Now appearing—Cosmic Sense descending into Social Sense.

7th. Sub-race—Future—Divine Sense descending into Social Sense.

We might declare without hesitation that the history of the Aryan Race is written in the above chart, for it is nothing but an expansion of the above characteristics. What the Aryan Race has done is simply to carry on the process of objectivisation of the consciousness of synthetic mind through the five sub-races and its branch divisions as well as national sub-divisions. We shall briefly note the process of this objectivisation by passing through all the sub-races in our discussions.

The first sub-race according to Occult sources migrated into India about 18000 B. C. The representatives of this sub-race are the Hindus of India and they belong not only to the First Sub-race but also to the Root Stock

of the Aryan Race. This means that it contains within itself the seeds of the whole Aryan Tree, as it will grow to its mighty stature in the seventh Sub-race. And so when the devout Hindus of India proudly declare that in their scriptures is everything that humanity knows today, it is in a way correct, for the whole future of the Aryan Race is to be found, of course, in its seedlings in the Hindu Scriptures. But one must not make too much out of this, for a seed is not the whole tree. We might keep these seeds in our treasury boxes and yet we will never thereby perceive the grandeur of the fully grown up tree, nor will the beautiful branches, charming leaves, and delicious fruits come to our gaze. It requires the talent, the patience and the scientific knowledge of a gardener to develop a tree out of a tiny seed. Yes, India does possess the seeds of the future growth of the Aryan Race, but instead of preserving them she must pass them on to the gardeners of the more advanced sub-races of the Aryan Race, so that they, through the application of their skill and science, might nourish them and produce a great and an exquisitely beautiful tree. That India lives, although

other civilisations have perished, is because of the fact that she being the Root Stock possesses the seeds for the growth of the Aryan Tree and till the Tree develops to its full height and splendour, India will continue to live and distribute seeds which other nations must ever need for their development. And so India need not remain an enigma to sociologists and students of history, for she has a place in the world civilisation today, inspite of its seeming backwardness. It is always the case, that the ideal of the first sub-race is the fulfilment of the seventh. We know that the forefathers of what science calls the Neanderthal Man of the Atlantean Race was first becoming conscious of his mind and naturally wanted to become a man with a fully developed mind. This ideal is today fulfilled in the Japanese, for we see this race trying to develop analytical mind to its greatest power. In the same way the ideal of the Hindu will be the realisation of the Seventh Sub-race man of the Aryan Root Race. The Hindus, as we have seen, represent, the first sub-race, hence their psychological position is: the expression of social sense in sensations and perceptions. We might say

that the Hindus represent the stage of evolution where human beings are first becoming conscious of social relationships. Being on the first stage, they are not able to analyse this relationship nor can they create new relationships. Realising themselves as social beings, they have tried to seek for social stability. Their social sense could grow only within the framework of social structure supplied to them by the Founders of the race. Again being on the Fifth level of race consciousness, they always require some ideals incarnated in their social structures. A mere formal social edifice would not appeal to them. Yet again, it is also true that India can respond to social ideals only if presented within the framework of institutions to which she has been accustomed. Do not above sentences clearly reflect the Hindu temperament, even today? We do not speak of Tagores and Gandhis, Boses and Nehrus, we are referring to the common man and woman of India. India's love for social structure can well be seen from her tenacious adherence to caste system and to other social customs under which she has remained for the last so many ages. There is another very

marked trait of Indians of rather of Hindus. Being at the level of social sensations, the common populace of India is tied down to social environment, and invariably honours those who can rise above its social environment, although it is first shocked by such a behaviour. The man who does something out of the normal is greatly respected. The respect which India gives to the yellow robes of Sanyasis is verily an exhibition of this trait. We can only summarise briefly the characteristics of the Hindus, their elaboration must be left to readers themselves. A tendency to grow only in a social structure provided by forefathers, an allegiance to those who can rise above social environment, a regard for those of same social heredity, a minute classification of social systems, an adherence to ideals presented in a particular structure, a conception of spirituality confined to physical demonstration and outward signs and a complete emphasis of social structural discipline on individuals. It might again be repeated, lest we forget, that these traits apply to the average Hindu and not to outstanding leaders. We are dealing with mass psychology and not with

individuals And if we study the whole Indian life, we will perceive these features. India has adjusted herself to various invasions, provided the invaders kept her social structure in tact. It is also a fact that a change of dynasties in Delhi did not at all disturb the Indian masses living in villages and this is due entirely to the above traits. Unfortunately a lack of space does not allow us to discuss India in fuller details. And so we will pass on to other sub-races.

The second-subrace, the Egypto-Arabian, had her consciousness focussed in the expression of Social sense through activity. Ritualism is one of the phases of Activity and we find this predominantly in the case of Egyptians. With the phase of Activity is associated, as we saw in individual psychology, an element of obedience and faithfulness to orders, given either by rulers, generals or captains. It is not without significance that Arabs are reputed for their proverbial faithfulness to their masters. We forgot to note, that the first stage of sensation has its politico-social institution in Theocracy, for people at this level are asked to imitate what Divine Rulers

and Preceptors do. The politico-social institution of the second race is Feudalism and we know that in this the relation of human beings is that of master and servant. Feudalism has its own heights which we at our level do not fully understand. The servant willingly offering his services and even his life to his master is surely the pinnacle of Feudalism's glory. And such indeed was the case in the most glorious days of Egypt. To understand Egypt, we might here briefly note some of the salient features that characterised the second-subrace of the Aryan Race. A willing adjustment to social surroundings provided by a Feudal lord, a valiant defence of the honour and prestige of the master, a bond of love between the followers of the same lord, a ceaseless competition between the soldiers of a tribe in order to excel each other in bravery and in winning favours of the Feudal lord, an association of tribes against the invasion of foreign ideals and institutions, a flawless observance of ceremonials and a domination of powerful individual chieftains and generals. These and such other are the marked features of the second sub race which clearly

show in its history the expressions of social ideals in activity. The restless nomadic habits of the Arabs are also a reflection of this activity level. The very art of Egypt, as also its pyramids, show man's active domination over nature. We also know that the Egyptians were great alchemists and this was due to the fact that the Mystery Students who were versed in Chemistry taught them this art and it is not wrong to say that practical Alchemy learnt by average Egyptians was an active expression of Chemistry. Such instances can be multiplied, but it must be left to earnest readers to study Egyptian history and tally its discoveries with the Active expression of social ideals, which is the level of Egypt, in terms of Consciousness.

And now we come to the Third sub-race, the Iranian, which flourished largely in Persia and Chaldea. The psychological position of this race is, its expression of social ideals or synthetic mind in terms of emotion. We must here remember that this race stands in a position where it has already objectivised social perception and social activity, while mind, social

sense, intuition and will are still subjective to its consciousness. Now what does the concentration of synthetic mind in emotion mean? It means extreme fondness for hereditary social influences, a devoted obedience to religious preceptors and rules given by them, a great fidelity to family ideals and honours, a domination of religious over temporal power or the superiority of Church over State, a sense of fellowship and charity for fellow-religionists, a fascination for mysticism and a permeation of religious sense in daily life. Their emotional level is also seen very transparently through their romance and poetry, specially love-lyrics. It was not an accident that they were supplied with a fine, romantic natural scenery. It was in these natural surroundings that they could easily develop their emotional traits of love and sacrifice. If one studies their love-literature, it will be abundantly plain that it is more rich than the literatures of other countries, specially in its romantic elements. The key-note of this civilisation is purity, a clearly emotional trait, while that of the second-subrace was fidelity, which contains an element of obedience, of willing allegiance, a mark of

activity. The First sub-race, Hindu, had and still has her civilisation built on Duty, for Duty alone can stabilise social relationships. The Persians, and the modern Parsees too, are a race of great family affections. Their great fondness for Astrology is due very largely to the subjectiveness of mind and hence an inability to analyse causes and effects. This stage is characterised in politico-social institutions as the stage of Monarchy, a hereditary Monarchy, because of the attachment of sanctity to the family in which ancient Monarchs were born. Even historically this is true, if we trace the evolution of political institutions, for out of the different Feudal Lords was created a Monarch, who defeated the former and established his sovereignty. Thus do we see that Monarchy is not an off-shoot of economic conditions, as is said by Materialists, but a natural development of the emotional consciousness of a race. An emotional stage needs a hero and can worship only a person—not a principle. This worship of person is reflected in its political institutions also. Limited monarchy is the goal of all political reform at this stage, and this demand has always arisen

where monarchy has lost its prestige in popular eye. Personal element predominates over all other things—this is the key to the understanding of the Third sub-race, and also its remnants of today.

We then come to the Fourth Sub-race, the Mediterranean or the Celtic or the Alpine, which is the Analytical Mind expression of Social Sense. The Latin peoples of today are the representatives of this race in our midst. We have seen above that a sub-race is divided into its branch-races also and we will have to note various branch-races of this Alpine race in our present discussion. But before we do so, let us consider the general features of this race. A great regard for formal perfection and hence for beauty of form, an interest in intellectual gymnastics, a polytheistic conception of God finally developing into One Creator, the growth of logic, astronomy and geometry, as sciences of space—analysis, a precision and clarity in expressions, a puritanic conception of spiritual behaviour, as evidenced from Stoics and a domination of political state over church and all other human activities—these are the general

characteristics found in the whole sub-race. In politico-social institutions this is a period of plutocracy, the dictatorship of Property. The key-note of the whole Celtic civilisation can be summed up in one word—Liberty or more truly Political Liberty. Through various phases, the Celtic Sub-race sounds this note of Political Liberty and, resulting from that, Nationalism, which again is the trait of the analytical mind. This race teaches humanity the sanctity of Law. Law, Property, Polytheism, Nationalism, Formal Beauty, Sciences of space, Clarity of language, Stoicism and State supremacy—these are some of the striking features of this sub-race. Let us note the various sub-divisions of this race. The various Branch-races can thus be tabulated with their psychological indexes:

Chart H.

1st. Social thought expressed through Perception—Not to be traced. (5-4-1)

2nd. Social thought expressed through Activity—Pre-Greeks. (5-4-2)

3rd. Social thought expressed through Emotion—Greeks. (5-4-3)

4th. Social thought expressed through Analytical Mind—Romans. (5-4-4)

The Fifth Branch—Race is further divided into national groupings and so we shall tabulate the Fifth Branch Race as follows:

Chart I.

1st. Social thought expressed through synthetic perception—Not to be traced. (5-4-5-1).

2nd. Social thought expressed through synthetic activity—Not to be traced. (5-4-5-2).

3rd. Social thought expressed through synthetic emotion—Italians. (5-4-5-3).

4th. Social thought expressed through synthetic analysis—French. (5-4-5-4).

5th. Synthetic ideals descending into social thought—Spanish. (5-4-5-5).

6th. Synthetic Intuition descending into social thought—Irish. (5-4-5-6).

7th. Synthetic Will descending into social thought—Not to be traced. (5-4-5-7).

The Sixth and the Seventh Branch Races are not yet traced and hence a mention of only five Branch races. This makes the study of

the Celtic Race intensely complicated, but for those who have followed the discussion of races so far and have grasped the workings of the principles of Prof. Marcault, it should not be difficult to understand the above descriptions of branch and nation races. It is impossible to elaborate these descriptions in this book. We shall however very briefly consider the Greeks, the Romans and the four nation races of the Fifth Branch Race.

The racial index of the Greeks is 5-4-3, 5 standing for the Root Race, 4 for the Sub-race and the last 3 for the Branch Race. It means that the Greeks expressed social thought through emotions. One ought to find the characteristics of 5-4-3 combined together in the civilisation of Greece. Organisation of religion into individual cults is the reflection of this psychology of the Greeks. Formal art taking the shape of personification of Gods and heroes and lyrical poetry with special metres for each type are also instances of this same type. Greece rising to a great Artistic peak is due to the perfection of form incarnating in the emotions of the people; human emotions, as it

were, are transplanted into sculpture and poetry. The Greek statues are an admiration of the world even today because they are perfect to the minutest detail of bodily form and at the same time reflect human emotions and impulses. It is in the psychological level of the Greeks that the key to this greatness in art must be found—and in no other theory.

The Romans were a little higher in psychological growth than the Greeks, for their index number is 5—4—4, which means the expression of social thought in analytical conceptions. The genius of Romans in evolving legal systems and political machineries is entirely due to this. Europe has built her legal systems very much on the model of Rome. In Roman politics we know that there was absolutely a property franchise and the whole state apparatus was controlled by slave-owners, the plutocrats of those days. This is due to the analytical or the lower mind level of Rome. If Rome could not succeed in her empire building it is because of the fact, that she was yet at the level of analytical mind, while empire building and colonisation are the traits of the Synthetic Mind of the

whole Aryan Race. The failure at empire building appeared because this Root Race synthetic mind had to work under the limitations of the analytical mind of the Romans. Further than this it is not possible to go into the history of the Romans. But those who read history from this psychological standpoint must find Rome's 5—4—4 in all her activities, whether religious, political, social, economic or spiritual. Romans must be regarded as the typical Mediterraneanans, for in them the Celtic Race rises to its greatest and sublimest height.

We will now hurriedly go through the Italian, the French, the Spanish and the Irish peoples, who belong to the sub-divisions of the Fifth Branch race of the Fourth Sub-race of the Fifth Root race. For the sake of brevity, we will call them by their index numbers. The Italians belong to the 5-4-5-3 race. It means that they express their social thought through synthetic emotions. We might say that they express Celtic consciousness through Persian traits, they are, as it were, Persianised Celts. Their devotion to past heroes, the existence of limited monarchy, the supremacy of Muso-

lini's personal genius—'Fascism, not for example, shows that it is based more on a personal than on principles—the halo of romance and splendour which Musolinis personality always manifests, his kingly pomp, his usual war orations which keep the impulses of Italians at a considerable pitch and such other modern characteristics present in the Italian life are largely representative of this psychological index of Italians. Fascism, autarchies and isolationisms are becoming very common in Latin countries and it is because all of them stand on the same general psychological index so far as Analytical Mind is concerned.

The French have 5—4—5—4 as their psychological index, which means that their social thought is expressed through synthesis and analysis. They are essentially a race of clarity and precision. It is a fact that language is a special feature of social sense, for it is language that makes social relationships possible. If we find that the French language has the qualities of the analytical mind, because it possesses remarkable traits of precision. Like the Romans, the French too are remarkable

typical Celts. Rome gave law and political theories while it must be said that France has sounded the true note of the Celtic Race in her unfurling the banner of nationalism and political liberty. Analytical mind represents a revolt against traditions and it is here that we have to seek for the understanding of the social upheaval that appeared in France and known to us as the French Revolution. That the upheaval was not merely political, but also social, is due both to the index number of its branch as well as Root Race, but that this social upheaval ended merely as a political revolution is because of the Lower Mind level of the French. France started with the cry of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity but we know that the last two vanished into thin air while the first resulted in granting freedom to plutocrats, the bourgeoisie, that were rising in social importance. What the French Revolution gave in political reform was a Plutocracy, euphemistically called political democracy. But France could not have played a role other than this, for the French nation could not think beyond nationalism and politics. The centralised system of Government prevalent

n France is typical of its analytical level, for diffusion and distribution of political power into various units is a feature of the synthetic mind. The French are again known for their fashions. It is not wrong to say that France is the Fashion-dictator of Europe and this is because of formal art and decorations which are products of the Analytical mind. France's politics can be summed up in one sentence: "National security and safeguard against German attack." Her position in the League of Nations and her mutual defence pacts with various nations of Europe show very clearly that Nationalism of the very extreme kind is guiding her. And yet her nationalism differs from Japan, for France, in spite of everything, has her Root Race index five and hence her rabid nationalism is also tinged by International outlook. We must have the French here and proceed further without the consideration of other nations.

The psychological index number of Spain is 5-4-5-5 which implies that social thought has permeated social ideals of Spain. Spain is really a very queer nation, very unstable in its institutions. The key to this question lies in the

fact, that social idealism of Spain has to remain confined within the limitation of the analytical mind, which is the stage of the sub-race to which it belongs. And so, one finds invariably in Spain that social ideals take the form of un-co-ordinated actions, either of single individuals or of separate parties. We know that analytical mind level is a level of strong individuality and this individuality expressed through social institutions takes the form of anarchism. We have noted above, that Socialism is the economic doctrine of the Synthetic Mind. Now Spain is psychologically at a level of imbibing socialist ideals, but the difficulty is, that these socialist ideals are forced to remain within the limiting sphere of analytical mind, that is, within the sphere of individual anarchism. And the position of Socialist movement in Spain is really this, for we do not find a well co-ordinated and organised socialist movement in Spain, on the contrary, there are anarchist tendencies in it. G. D. H. Cole mentions in his "Review of Europe today": "Spanish Socialism has shown from the outset strong tendencies towards Anarchism." One will not wonder if Fascist

forces are victorious in Spain, for a Fascist revolution is essentially a Property revolution and Spain, being largely moulded by the analytical mind level of the sub-race to which it belongs, will have to yield to controllers of Property. We believe that Spain will have to pass through numberless upheavals, for social ideals will always claim preference and they will be put down by the analytical mind.

The Irish represent the sixth level of the fifth Branch race of the fourth Sub-race of the fifth Root Race, its index number is 5-4-5-6. It means, a feeling of human unity enters the social thought of the Irish. Strong individuality is really the main trait of this race, for while analytical mind represents the lower pole of individuality, intuition represents the higher. It means that racial ideals of the Irish, guided by lofty individualism, have to remain confined within the walls of the analytical mind. Like Spain, one again finds a mode of anarchism in Ireland, but this is different from Spanish anarchism. We cannot enter into this discussion here. But the whole Sinn-Fein movement of Ireland had anarchist

tendencies in it and it is through this that Ireland has won her Freedom. Again her constant quarrels with Britain are also very largely due to this. Her nationalism though separative is not like France. For, Ireland can think in terms of British Commonwealth, but within this Commonwealth she demands greater individual freedom. Ireland is a very fascinating study, for here we find 4, 5 and 6 acting and counter-acting and ultimately yielding to 4. Ireland appears a very advanced nation because of her intuition which helps her to make friends with all nations and yet she remains utterly isolative because of her lower mind, due to which she takes very little part in international politics. She has practically remained unaffected by Socialism and this is also because of her 4 and 6. It is possible that Ireland might play an important part in world-affairs, now that a new and sixth sub-race is developing in America and Ireland has truly immense interests in that Land and owes her freedom very largely to the intervention of the American Government. But that is a question of the future with which we are not concerned here.

Chapter IV.

Evolution in Aryan Races—Part-II.

[The Nordic Race.]

“Not until the appearance of the Fifth Sub-race is the pure higher mind consciousness expressed and not even then, until its fifth sub-division reaches its fifth phase. Nevertheless, the Sub-race as a whole, including the peoples of Germany, Holland, Britain and Scandinavia, all show a marked development of synthetic mental processes.” *

We now come to the Fifth Sub-race of the Aryan Race, the race which is known as the Teutonic or the Nordic Race. This race, it must be said is the real height of the Aryan Race for it psychologically represents Social Sense concentrated in Synthetic Mind, or in other words it is this race which lives the most through its social sense, for social sense is absolute both with the Root Race and the Nordic

* “ The Next Step in Evolution.” Prof. Marcault.

Sub-race. Social sense is alone the window through which this race looks at the world. Analytical Mind, Emotions, Activity and Perception are its instruments and are used for the furtherance of Social Sense, while Intuition and Will which descend into it through subjective realms are also moulded by it for the nourishment of the social sense, or the synthetic mind or social ideals. The politico-social institutions in which this race finds interest are Democracy and Socialism. It is the function of the fifth sub-race to establish Democracy in the world, not a mere political democracy but social democracy too, and hence Democracy and Socialism must remain together, each without the other must feel incomplete. The predominance of economic problems in this race are natural for they are all leading the world to Democracy and Socialism. The fundamental characteristics are: Humanity living under the influence of social ideals, formation of organisations and associations to give utterance to these ideals, a feeling of nearness between the nations of the world due to economic and social relationships, a development of machinery and

applied sciences, establishment of Responsible Governments and applications of economic planning, individual freedom in religion compatible with social morality, acceptance of international control over national sovereignties and such other features. The special key-note of this race is Fraternity and the race through its branch-races and other national divisions and through various experiments is trying to realise this ideal of Fraternity. One finds the existence of this ideal even in its social institutions. Marriage is not a one-sided affair in the interests of the sterner sex but is becoming a comradeship for mutual experience between the sexes. Woman has as much right as man in politics, economics, social affairs. Political franchise is granted to women and legal disabilities are being removed. In short, woman is not a property of man, as during the era of analytical mind, the Fourth Root Race, but is a friend, a comrade, a partner of man. In literature this idea of fraternity is again to be seen. for in novels and dramas, in poems and short stories it is the human element that remains predominant. In literature, divisions

between man and man are fast disappearing and the masses are assuming great importance, and this is due more to the zeal of fraternity than to any under-estimation of other class of human beings. In politics, we find parties based on various political ideals being formed and assuming the reins of government. In economics, the unrestricted individualism of analytical mind age is being replaced by co-operation and social control. In religion, the glorification of God and the following of individual conscience are being relegated to the background and service of man is becoming the most impelling force behind religious idealism. The conception of man as a social entity, vaguely felt by the first sub-race of the Aryan Root Race, is finding its objectivisation in the Nordic Race of today. We will watch the process of gradual objectivisation of this social sense through the Branch-Races of this Sub-race. We must remember that only five branch-races are known to us and hence no mention is made of the sixth and the seventh branch-races in the following table:

Chart J.

Ist. Branch-race represented by the Slavonic, the Croat and the Slovak.

2nd. Branch-race represented by the Prussians, the Letts and the Lithuanians.

3rd. Branch-race represented by the Germans and the Austrians.

4th. Branch-race represented by the Dutch and the Frisians.

5th. Branch-race represented by the Anglo-Saxons.

The psychological characteristics of the above branch-races can be understood from the following chart:

Chart K.

1st...Social Ideals expressed through Perception.

2nd...Social Ideals expressed through Activity.

3rd...Social Ideals expressed through Emotion.

4th...Social Ideals expressed through Analytical Mind.

5th...Social Ideals expressed through Synthetic Mind.

The First Branch-race has its index 5-5-1, and, as from the above table, it expresses social

ideals through perception or structure and stability. We might say that this race is becoming conscious of its social ideals and tries to adjust itself to structures appropriate to them. The common mass of humanity in this race, being on the sensation level, cannot evolve a social structure and so it must be left to some outer agencies. One might compare this race to an idealistic young man who feels the impelling force of ideals within him and remains constantly bathing in the sunshine of his ideals, but does not know how to give an expression to them. Wherever he sees an expression of his ideals, he relishes them and wants to remain adjusted to them. We know that human beings at the level of sensation are not at all mobile, hence they can accept social ideals only when presented in a particular structure. Herein this race bears resemblance to the Hindu Race which is the first sub-race of the Aryan Root Race. But there is a difference too, for the Hindu Race has become conscious only of the sociability of man's nature and hence has tried to seek structural stability in order to grow under an atmosphere of social relationships, as

provided by Manu. The first branch race of the fifth sub-race of the fifth Root Race is seeking structural stability in order to grow under the atmosphere of social ideals. And this is a great difference for here human beings want environment appropriate to the growth of social ideals. What this means will be understood when we take instances from the lives of nations belonging to this Branch-race. We have seen that the Slavonic, the Croats and the Slovaks belong to this Race. It means that the peoples of Eastern Europe and more particularly of Russia, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Silesia, Bohemia belong to this race. It is indeed a vast sea of humanity. To show in detail the characteristics of all these nations is really impossible. It is also to be borne in mind that although all these nations belong to the first branch-race of the fifth sub-race, their sub-levels must be different. Although all are at the stage of sensation, these sensations ought to be expressing through either of the seven phases of consciousness and to trace all these would require a volume. So we might illustrate only the principal traits. The Russian Revolution of 1917 which introduced socialist structure of

society in Russia is clearly a vindication of our assertion that it stands on the level of the first Branch-race of the fifth sub-race. For Russian masses above all else wanted a social structure under which they might feel themselves secure. No doubt, they had adjusted themselves to the cruel oppressions of the Tsar, but owing to a permeation of new social ideals, they craved for a new social basis. But the masses of themselves could not create this and hence a necessity for a Party creating such a structure; just as Theocracy had given a structure to India, so has the Communist Party given a new social stability for the ideals of Russian masses. The Russians have very well adjusted themselves to a new structure, although there are many unhealthy features following the New Regime in U.S.S.R. We will not enter into the discussion of these features, we only want to drive the fact that Russians can adjust to any social structure given to them, provided it does not run counter to their ideals. Socialism in its structural form is Russia's contribution to the world. Beyond this it is impossible for Russia to give. Let structural stability, embodying their

ideals, collapse, let it become less rigid and Russian masses will stand confused. Russia has shown the world the first picture of Socialism and it is natural that the latter should be fascinated by it. Whatever Russia does is just to make the outlines of this picture more clear. We shall see later while talking about the destinies of Russia, where her rulers are crossing the psychological limits of the country. **The** great attraction of the Russian experiment to India is really due to the affinity of stability and structure which both these nations represent. Russia attaches great importance to social ideals, expressed through social structures. Hence their very definition of socialist change implies structural change. We know that the Communist Party has to keep up the morale of the people by 'Shock-Brigades,' and what does this mean? It shows that Russian masses will do what other more advanced people show in their lives. Imitation is really the most effective method of exacting work from those at the level of sensation and the Communist Party has realised this necessity. The Communists tried to break family lives in Russia and

the results are too well-known to all of us. Here they demanded of Russian masses something that they could never give. For Russia is at the sensation level and it can never forego hereditary family influences for the sake of social ideals. That is the limit in which social ideals can remain and any attempt to break these influences must fail. This failure again shows the psychological level of the Russians. Material stability as an incentive to work even under most autocratic regime shows Russia's level of sensation, for nations higher in psychological levels would never consent to work simply because there is economic stability, they would need some more incentives. Again, Russia's Socialism is brought by an appeal to material happiness, the whole nation applauded this appeal for those who live in sensations can evolve a philosophy compatible with physical happiness. The lack of initiative in Russia is really a sufficient proof of this contention. Russia is today led by the Party, it moves at the orders of the Party, it worships the Party, it is taught by the Party, it accepts the philosophy of the Party, it believes in the religion of the

Party and it is completely dominated by the Party: what is this except the fact that Russia stands at the level of sensations? We will not go in greater detail about Russia but say only one thing. It is being said by some people that India can follow into the footsteps of Russia. What does our psychological interpretation say on this point? It says that between India and Russia there is a wide gulf of four sub-races and several of its branch and nation races. The masses of India can never achieve what Russia has done, for if they do this then the whole racial theory is false. But just as every country has evolved its own methods, so will India evolve her own. India is at the level of sensations of social structure, while Russia enjoys the position of sensations of social ideals. During the period between the first sub-race of the Aryan Race and the first branch race of the Nordic Race, humanity has not only become quite conscious of social relationships but has learnt to organise and associate, to develop an international fellowship, to produce applied sciences, to dream of social ideals. Again Russia could never have passed through a socialist revolution merely at

the behests of a party, she required an outside agency and this came in the shape of a war which shattered the then existing social structure. It was this that led Russia to evolve a new social basis. This element has to be completely understood while dealing with nations at sensation levels, for they will adjust to new environment and even try for its inception only when they find that the old structure no longer exists. Those who are trying to bring socialism in India on the model of Russia must grasp this fact and gradually try to create a new social structure, so that by imitation masses will adjust themselves to new social conditions. To bank upon a war to shatter social structure in India is hopeless. Nor is complete shattering necessary, for humanity at the level of sensation evolves by imitation and not by incitement to action. There is another way by which people at the stage of sensation evolve and that is through shocks, either natural or social, over which they have no control. In contrasting India with Russia, we have digressed a little from our main discussion, but that was necessary. To note the characteristics of Russia, we might say that she has great affinities for

structures that embody her ideals, even more than the ideals themselves, has a tendency to progress by imitation of those who represent her ideals, has an ability to adjust to an environment supplied by any strong and overpowering agencies, has a nature of depending too much on state and government guidance, has an inclination of basking in the sunshine of ideals, rather than immediately start putting them into practice, has an attraction for only that religion which offers a future heaven (it is because of this that she showed loyalty to such religion in the times of the Tsar and is showing interest now in the revolutionary paradise that is offered to her, for Russians can think in terms of ideal atmosphere and hence an attraction towards heaven) and finally miracle dominates her life, miracle either natural, or more particularly social, and hence she looks with favour to the revolution which has seemed to her a veritable miracle. This is the psychology of the Russian masses, not of their Stalin or Kaganowitch. After the Russian Revolution, it seems Russia has risen to a higher sub-level of its sensation stage. But we cannot enter into a discussion of the detailed history

of this country. The very fact that Russia is settling down to a new social adjustment rather than usher in revolutions in other lands, which it was said by Communists, to be the main task of Russia, shows clearly her level of sensations. Russian Revolution, its victories and failures can be written from this psychological point of view. For the present we must end here.

We have seen that the countries of Eastern Europe belong to the first branch-race of the Nordic Sub-race. One remarkable characteristic of sensation is that it lives on agricultural economy, one might say a pre-feudalist agricultural economy of peasant proprietorship. And we find that all the countries of Eastern Europe are living in these economic conditions. But there are various stages of sensation that are represented by the first branch-race. For example, it seems Poland is on the activity level of sensation as seen from her past history, which shows that she could never adjust well with Russia as also from strong military dictatorship of Pilsudski under which Poland remained after the war. We

surmise that Bulgaria represents the emotional level of sensation, as is apparent from the limited monarchy which rules this country. It is said that Bulgaria is following the Orthodox or the Greek Church with strong influences of Roman Catholicism—not unlikely in an emotional country. We cannot illustrate instances from all the countries of the first branch—race for lack of sufficient space at our disposal. We might only note here that in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia the Agrarian parties are holding reins of Governments, which is quite consistent with the sensation level of these countries. We presume, Yugoslavia is a country psychologically on the synthetic mind level of sensation, and our presumption is due to the fact that decentralisation of governmental functions forms a very important element in her politics. Monarchical, military, party and personal dictatorships in vogue in all the countries of Eastern Europe are largely due to the sensation level on which all of them remain, for the masses at this level always move when pushed by some outer agencies since they lack initiative. It is not contended that all the

elements in these dictatorships are good, but that is not the point here. Where these dictatorships could be improved upon can correctly be said after studying in full the psychological levels of the masses that live under them. Dictatorships are not necessary in the form in which they exist today—but a rule by a party which clearly knows what it wants to achieve is certainly quite inevitable for these synthetic-mind-sensation-level countries. Our readers now know fairly well the characteristics of synthetic mind and also of sensation, and so they can, through their own studies, find out the tendencies of the Eastern European countries and tally them with our psychological formulas.

And now we come to the second branch-race of the Teutonic Sub-race. The function of this race is to objectivise social ideals through activity. It is Egypt and Arabia on a higher level, just as Russia is on a higher level compared to India. The Prussians, the Letts and the Lithuanians represent this branch-race in our midst. Peoples living in Prussia, the Baltic States and Lithuania are clearly on the activity level of social ideals. About Prussia much need not be said to

prove the above contention, for it is known for its militarism and feudalism. The military dictatorship of Von Papen even as late as 1932 shows that Prussia is a fertile ground for all sorts of military coup-d'etat. Prussia is really feudal and it is because of her influences that Germany was handicapped in her process at centralisation, although Hitler has achieved this and the reasons for this success we shall see while discussing Germany. But it is in the nature of feudalism to continue the overlordship of separate barons and it requires a strong monarchy to achieve centralisation. The role of Prussia in the affairs of Germany is thus feudalistic, quite consistent with activity level. Again in Germany all political adventurers, even Hitler, have found support from Prussia, and this can be explained only on the ground of Prussia's activity level. In Finland, Estonia and Latvia, which belong to this branch-race, we know that Baltic Barons have played a very prominent part, so far as their politics and economic policies are concerned. In Lithuania's history, one invariably finds the element of activity very predominant. Her great period of glory was

during the 13th. Century when she was a Grand Duchy. In the sixteenth century she was united with Poland, an activity-level nation, as noted above. After the Russian Revolution, her valiant defence of her own independence inspite of Polish attacks shows the vigour of this nation. At present hostility to Poland is the guiding doctrine of her politics, just as fear of Russia guides Latvian politics. The military coup-d'etat and the later government of Prof Valdemaras, which entirely depended upon military support, show unmistakably the power of the military in this country. These traits amply illustrate the activity level of these nations. The expression of synthetic mind through activity means, a rule by military party, a spirit of restless activity for the achievement of social ideals, a loyalty to military generals for the realisation of social ideals, disintegrating tendencies in political machineries, strength outweighing other factors in social as well as political and economic spheres, a language and literature essentially of action, a great preponderance of ceremonials in religious life and an existence of military honours and granting of

'Orders'—these and such other factors must be discernible in the lives of the peoples of these nations. The worsening of their political and economic conditions tends to make them more restless and active, for that is how these nations learn to objectivise their active urges. Difficulties are their teachers, just as shocks are the teachers of the sensation-level nations.

We will now consider the third branch race of the Teutonic Sub-race. The third race psychologically stands at a level where her social ideals are expressed through emotions. They are on a level higher than the Persians. The representatives of this race are found among the Germans and the Austrians. Germany and Austria belong to the same branch-race and so their unwise separation after the Great War has been a cause of much bickering in European politics. Germany is regarded as the most cultured nation of Europe. Now pure culture really belongs to intuition, yet emotion has close contact with it and hence we find elements of culture more in Germany and Austria than in any other European country. The key to the understanding of German nature and culture can

really be found in one word—her devotion to greatness. This devotion has invaded the political sphere also. Devotion means a personal element and German history is full of great personages, moulding its course, Bismarck, Kaiser and President Hindenburg commanded influence over Germany to the extent to which we will hardly find in any other Teutonic country. Even Hitler is playing upon this element and if he succeeds it will be more for his personality than for his principles. Germany can claim more outstanding personages than any other country of the world. Germany needs either a monarch, or better still a strong man, who can capture the imagination of the people. If Social Democrats could have produced such a man, Germany would not have seen the fall of Social democracy. Hitler's popularity today is mainly because he has very cleverly understood certain emotional features of the German people. His talk of racial purity is just pampering to the race pride of Germany and which is common to nations at the emotional level; the Parsees of India too are talking of racial purity. His declaration that women must 'go back to their kitchens'

is a typical emotional conception of woman. Woman as the nourisher of family, as the mother of children, as the kitchen expert of the nation is just an emotional view of woman. His demand for reverting to small-scale production and his inclination for supporting village industries are also features consistent with emotionalism. Just as Mussolini is talking of Corporations, which are a new type of guilds, so is Hitler desirous of evolving Guild economy in Germany, of course on a modern scale. Germany's hostility to France will be quite understandable to the readers owing to the fact that both these nations not only belong to different sub-races but their corresponding branch-levels too are such as would keep them on fighting terms. Germany's cordiality to Britain is because of the same sub-race to which both of them belong. Germany's great desire for colonial power is due to the synthetic mind level of both its root as well as sub-race but she has never shown the same ingenuity in dealing with her colonials as England, and this is due to her emotional level. We know that Germany became a really powerful state only when she achieved confederation under

a single powerful monarchy. So long as her feudal elements were strong, she could not rise to her glory—a trait of her emotional stage. Germany as a formidable power in war is also due to this trait, for the German nation is impulsive and when roused to a strong feeling, its people can risk anything. We find a resemblance between Italy's Fascism and Nazism of Germany, but this resemblance is largely due to the emotional stage of both these nations. For otherwise, Hitler has been obliged to call his party by the name of National Socialists—introduction of socialism being necessitated by the synthetic mind level of Germany. Germany's post-war Youth Movement also bears out this emotionalism, for it was essentially against outworn morality and the tyranny of parents. 'The Back-to-Nature' slogan of these youths also exhibits romanticism and impulsiveness. Democracy in religion is what Germany has taught to the Nordic race, for what was the revolt of Luther except for the democratic reformation of the Church? Folk songs of Germany reveal great sentimentality and elements of love and romance. And so one might say that the main characteristics of the

third Branch-race of the Nordic Sub-race are: a profound love of nature, impulsiveness in war, religious democracy, great efficiency in chemical sciences and particularly war materials,—but this is of course a prostitution of her chemical genius—her love for philosophy, especially the Kantian philosophy of the Good, the True and the Beautiful, her remarkable culture and development of Orchestral Music, with its highly emotional vein, a domination of personal element in all spheres of national and social activity. Austria's leadership in Holy Roman Empire also proves its inclination towards religion—which is an index of its emotionalism. Austria's music is of course superb. A very large section of the Austrian people instead of desiring an enlargement of its own state, wants to be politically and economically merged with Germany—a sign of common racial index. Hitler, as we know, is an Austrian and in him are reflected the main traits of the race to which he belongs. The strength of the Socialist movement and particularly of the Christian Socialist movement shows a religious or a moral reaction to Socialism in Austria. We think that sooner or later Germany and Austria will

have to combine—if not politically, at least economically in order that once again the third branch-race of the Teutons might regain its lost place in the comity of nations. Germany allowed to nourish a feeling of hatred is a powerful danger to Europe; while Germany befriended will add considerably to the peace and prosperity of Europe. Germany wants not merely a redrafting of the Treaty of Versailles, but signing of an entirely new Treaty of Friendship between herself and the European powers.

We now proceed to the fourth branch-race of the Nordic Sub-race. This race expresses its social ideals through analytical mind or through the development of individuality. To this race belong the Dutch and the Frisians of the Friesland, situated in the North West of Europe. One might say that detail and organisation are the key-notes of this race. We know very little about the Frisians over here and hence we will have to confine our remarks only to the Dutch. When one thinks of the Dutch, one is at once reminded of scientific farming and co-operatives, the one represents the detail of the analytical mind, while the other exhibits the power of

organisation of the synthetic mind. The Dutch are an intensely efficient people—this skill they derive from the analytical level. ‘Holland’s great strength lies in her commerce’ so says Mr. Cole, and this must be so, for lower mind has fundamentally to do with material goods and hence with commerce. The possession by Holland of the Malaya territories was no mere accident—for both represent analytical mind level, although Holland is on a higher spiral of it. The entire aloofness of Holland from all European and World politics is also significant of her lower mind stage. The great influence of Calvinism in Holland is also a representation of supremacy of Mind. The main characteristics of this race can be summed up thus: a tendency to remain in national aloofness in order to develop social ideals, a preservation of national institutions even against formidable enemies, a religion based on reason and logic, application of science to industries and supremacy in commerce, spirit of organisation, specially the co-operatives, the development of the arts of efficiency and tidiness and domination of conservative forces. This then is briefly the psychology of the Dutch.

To the fifth Branch-race of the Nordic Race belong the Anglo-Saxons. The main function of this race is to objectivise social ideals through synthetic mind. It is not wrong to say that the Aryan Race rises to its noble heights in its Anglo-Saxon branch. This race is represented by England, the English speaking peoples of Canada and Australia and also the Americans. We know so much about this race that to summarise it is well-nigh impossible. Social ideals through synthetic mind means a high sense of social responsibility and a profound respect for social institutions. The absence of 'bloody revolutions' in the whole history of England is really due to this. Again it is England alone who can carry on its government by an un-written constitution, for it shows the readiness of the English people to observe social traditions and respect social conventions. The British Parliament is known as the Mother of Parliaments, and rightly, for she has been a model parliamentary country in the whole world. She has consistently stuck to parliamentary government although she has introduced changes with a change in times and

circumstances. This love for parliamentary or democratic institutions is a characteristic feature of this race. There are merits as well demerits in this tenacious holding to democratic institutions, for it seems England cannot think beyond institutions, systems and commissions. She wants everything to be done in strict obedience, at least, to the form of democracy. She is known as a nation of shop-keepers, and rightly, for economics is the sphere of synthetic mind, just as politics is of the analytical mind. Again machinery and applied sciences go with this level of synthetic mind and hence we find England leading all the other nations in Industrial revolution. She became the sole dictator of world market because of her cheap machine productions. And the wealth thus obtained helped her to spread her colonial empire, far and wide. The founding of colonies or the building up of empires is the genius of the synthetic mind and hence England today beats Germany, France, Italy, Japan in colonial expansions. Marxian Socialists tell us that England could found colonial empire because of the wealth obtained through cheap production of goods and

their sales. But why did England precede other nations in industrial revolution, which helped her to develop an empire ? No answer from the Marxists. We say that the synthetic mind level is responsible for this happening, for machinery means applied science and when can science be applied ? Only when scientific mind has been completely objectivised or made an instrument. England has again a sense of Empire—not merely of nation. But again we find England conservative and this conservatism is due to her intense regard for institutions. She can never tolerate a breaking of institutions—she may agree to modifications. Hence existence of very rigid divorce laws in England, for she does not want to break marriage institutions, nor does she want to make them loose. Radical movements are never popular in England. The English people are the Romans re-incarnated and we hope they will not commit the same mistakes which the Romans committed. We may thus summarise the characteristics of the Anglo-Saxons: an adherence to institutional stability, a gradualness in action, a dominance of social morality, a faith in the democratic basis of politics, a sense

of international responsibility, a perfection of language, a reliance on inherent civic sense of the people. England's geographical position and her economic resources have helped to develop two tendencies among the English people. One, a relation of friendliness with other nations and second, a common sense for Empire building. There is another very marked feature of English politics and specially of America, and that is a very efficient Party system and its very smooth working. Party is the political expression of the synthetic mind, for social ideals and programmes form the very basis of its formation. A sense of social duty, of citizenship is inherent in the English nation. One who has no conception of racial psychology, might wonder at the sense of duty prevalent in the English police—but that factor is only a reflection of the race characteristics. It is really racially very significant that America goes on with with as little of social legislation as possible. That shows the psychological level of the people. A new type of Capitalists like Ford and Nash are coming into existence in America and it means that social sense is very

rapidly being objectivised in that country. We are not blind to the many problems existing in America and England but they are due to the yet absolute level of social sense. Real humanity and fraternity can come only when social sense is completely objectivised. America's very rigid constitution is also due to her institutionalism which is common to all Anglo-Saxon countries. That the idea of the League of Nations should have originated in the mind of President Wilson is no accident. Internationalism is the special mission of the Anglo-Saxon countries and it seems America is on a little higher level of synthetic mind than England. The unique efficiency in advertisements developed by the Americans is due to the objectivisation of the lower mind, which she is able to use very freely. It seems the sub-level of England is four, so that her index number is 5-5-5-4; and it is because of this that she is more interested in politics than America, which according to Prof Bryce is more economically inclined, a trait of her synthetic sub-level within the branch race of the synthetic mind. We will not pursue this discussion further but only note the Federal

nature of her government. Centralisation is of the lower mind and hence it is interested in concentration, while the synthetic mind is inclined to co-ordination. This trait is reflected in the differences of the government machineries of France and America. Synthetic Mind can co-ordinate diverse functions inspite of their seeming differences and here is the clue to the understanding of the extreme separation of powers in the American constitution. Any other country trying to follow her example would undoubtedly land itself into dangerous situations. The existence of civic liberties in England and America is also due to this quality of co-ordination of individual liberties with social welfare. We might note only one more instance. Charles Darwin appearing in England is very significant. We have seen that lower mind can analyse space, while the synthetic mind can grasp and understand the qualities of time. The theory of evolution is possible only when this 'time' can be understood. England, being on the synthetic level, produced a Darwin, to explain the flow of time in his 'Origin of Species.'

A word about Indo—British relations before we proceed to the next race. We must understand that the mission of England is predominantly to form a nucleus of internationalism. Her task is to found a Commonwealth of Nations. This is the ideal placed before her due to her psychological level. This Commonwealth must be above national, colour and class divisions. This Commonwealth is the ideal of the Aryan Race and England being on the fifth level is best suited to perform this task. But this Commonwealth cannot become a living reality without India's position in it, for we have seen above, that India possesses the seeds of the whole Aryan tree. Unless England obtains these seeds by close and fraternal relations with India, her dream of Commonwealth can never be realised. Again India's dream of social duty can find fulfilment only in England. England will, and is bound to, express what India perceives through her sensations. India's perception is England's expression. India only gives the ideal, but this ideal must be organised in human institutions. It is this organisation that will be done by England. India without England must

become a soul without a body, England without India must remain a body without a soul, must remain a mere institution without the perception of ideals. This, in short, is the purpose of Indo-British relations. And so it is of supreme importance that both these nations must understand each other. India must know how to appeal to Britain—appeal not in any servile sense—or better still, India must know how to deal with Britain. Britain likes democracy and wishes all who deal with her to adopt democratic methods. We are not talking of the steel-frame in India but of the real British nature. It can respond only to an appeal of constitutionalism. It was because of this that Dr. Annie Besant proposed a constitutional way; not because she had a foreign body but because she understood the English nature. But people in India seem to be ridiculing the idea of getting freedom through constitutional measures. They tell us that the method of constitution was tried by India and was found wanting. Yes, but the constitutional way resorted to by India was not Mrs. Besant's constitutionalism. It was a sterile constitutionalism that was tried in India and naturally failed, as it

must. Dr. Besant's constitutionalism was dynamic and democratic in the sense that it was supported by people even in the villages. Dr. Besant's method of political warfare must prevail if India does not want to delay her freedom. Again the British people must understand the Indian psychology too. Indians are in a habit of thinking in terms of structure. India will never be satisfied unless and until she is given a complete political structure imbibing the great ideals for which India stands. Gradualism and granting of some bits of reforms can never be sufficient, however grand they may be. Only as India understands Britain and her ways, and only as Britain grasps the psychology of India can a lasting union between the two countries be established. A last word to India's political workers. India must be supplied with a constitution framed by the genius of India for unless this is done India will have no conception of Swarajya. She can think only in terms of constitutions and if a willing support of the masses is to be obtained they must have clear conceptions of Swarajya. This conception can be given to India only in terms of future structure. Dr. Besant knew this and gave her

Commonwealth of India Bill. Indian politicians must either accept this or evolve another Bill, for that is the only way to deal with Britain and to deal with India too.

Here ends our discussion of the past and the present civilisations. Now we enter for a short time into the realm of the future. We will only consider some of the salient features of the future races. And this reading of the future is not like the forecast of professional astrologers but like the scientists, who know the laws underlying human evolution.

Chapter V.

Evolution in Future Races.

"The sixth sub-race, the Coming Race, will be born with the sixth Root Race in it, which is to grow so much more slowly. The Coming of the sixth sub-race you may almost begin to see around you. It is not to be born a single place, not to belong to a single nation, for it is the type of humanity, of the unifying wisdom, and out of all nations and all peoples and all tongues it will gather together its chosen for the new type of thought which is to be born. And what that type will be we can easily outline by thinking of the characteristics of the Buddhic principle in man." *

Annie Besant.

Having considered the past and the present of humanity in the foregoing chapters, we now enter into a comparatively difficult field of

* The Changing World—Annie Besant.

forecasting the future of mankind. It is not in a manner of idle speculation that we are treating this subject—rather a hazardous subject—but we are touching it absolutely in a scientific manner.

We will, however, give only the general outlines of this picture, the picture that is to reveal its exquisite beauty during the centuries that lie before us.

The Sixth Sub-race of the Aryan Root Race has not yet appeared on world-stage, but the signs of its emergence are visible in America. The new racial type is found not only by Theosophists, but by ethnologists too, and is marked by teachers and parents also. This race is represented by the Neo-Americans. The new type of children born in America show signs of Intuition i. e. of direct perception of truth without argumentation. They show also marked signs of a very high culture and a keen sense of beauty. Now the sixth sub-race of the Aryan Race cannot rise to pure Intuition for it has still to remain within the sphere of the Synthetic Mind. The highest peak of Synthetic Mind is, of course, reached in the Nordic Race,

but with the emergence of the Sixth Sub-race a new element of Intuition descends into the Synthetic Mind and thus gives to the latter an expansion of its powers. This sub-race will give an Intuitional tinge to all the institutions and organisations of the Nordic Race. Now Intuition implies: Culture, **Dynamism**, Spirituality, Relativity, a sense of Unity, a nobility of Behaviour and an Aristocracy of the wise. All these will not be seen in the sixth sub-race in their pristine glory but only through the window of the synthetic mind. This race with its branch-races will strike the note of spiritual fraternity of humanity. The various branch-races will represent: (1) A better cultural environment for human beings, (2) a greater freedom from the limitations of obedience to social institutions, (3) a real sense of goodwill and fellowship between human beings of various races, (4) an Aris-tocratic-Democracy in its political sphere, (5) a sharing of the joys and sorrows of human beings and not merely a sharing of material goods, [6] a great development of fine arts and more particularly the dynamic arts like dancing, and (7) a greater dominance of teachers and pre-

-ceptors in social life. One does see the signs of these things in modern trends of our social life and this means that humanity is really rising to a new level of the synthetic mind. The existence of leisure in our days, made possible due to machinery, will force the issue of cultural facilities for increasing number of human beings. The gradual permeation of the ideas of individual morality, or at least a relative conception of morality, is a clear sign of individual freedom from social discipline. The apparent failures of the League of Nations are leading human beings or more specifically modern thinkers to seek for internationalism not in conferences and covenants but in the cultural and spiritual unity of human beings. The demand for experts in government and other social and economic activities is a sign of democracy being guided by an aristocracy of those who know and understand. Modern psychological novels and dramas are leading us to a greater and greater understanding of the lives of people and not merely their material demands. The great impetus that dancing has received from almost all the advanced countries is also a sign of the

growth of dynamic art. And lastly the wonderful experiments in education proceeding in the world are raising the status of teachers and psychologists in the estimation of human beings. With the emergence of the sixth sub-race these tendencies will be strengthened a thousandfold. It is said that America is showing very great interest in the Vedantin philosophy of India, and Vedanta is really the philosophy of Intuition, and America being the home of a new sub-race must naturally find interest in it. We do not propose to go into greater details about this race. These enumerations of principal traits would suffice to give to the reader some conception about the coming sub-race.

We proceed to the seventh and the last sub-race of the Aryan Root Race. This race is still very far in the future, but our laws of racial evolution can help us in forecasting its characteristics. This will be a race that will take the synthetic mind to its greatest expansion—we do not say expression. For Will or Divine Sense will enter into the consciousness of the Synthetic Mind of the Aryan

race. When Will descends into any aspect of consciousness, it means that human beings are becoming free of outer limitations, whether of society or state. This race will strike the note of True Fraternity, not relying upon outer environment of conferences and associations nor upon spiritual principles but upon the individual realisation of human unity. Man will realise his unity with his fellow-men in this race and no outer circumstances will obliterate this vision. In the first sub-race of the Aryan Race, man became conscious of his sociability through the influences of outer environment supplied to him by the Manu of the Race, here in the seventh sub-race man realises his unity with humanity through the objectivisation of his own powers, for he is no longer a slave of outer environment, of society; he has become a master of it. This sub-race, too, will pass through seven branch-races and will also pass through several subdivisions. We might envisage some of the characteristics of this race; (1) A reliance on individual self rather than on social environment, (2) a self-directed activity for the fulfilment of the ideal of human unity, (3) a conception

of the Divinity of man guiding all human relationships, (4) an an-archic democracy in which utmost freedom will be granted to individuals, or rather Democracy will exist because of the willing and voluntary associations of human beings, (5) the realisation of the dream of World-state wherein individual nations will exist and yet remain co-ordinated in the World-state. (6) a development of symbolic art portraying especially the divinity of man and his relationships and finally, (7) a dominance of Spiritual or Divine Kings largely born out of humanity—a Theocracy willingly accepted by people and not through inexperience as in the first sub-race. This then will happen in the seventh sub-race. The dream of H. G. Wells regarding the World-State will become a reality, in a much more grander scale than even he realises today. This sub-race will mean Internationalism par-excellence. With the emergence and full development of this race, the Aryan Race will have finished its mission. For it exists to make **Human** Brotherhood a reality in the world and with the descent of the Divine Sense into the Synthetic Mind this will become an actuality.

It will not merely be a vague feeling, but the Will of the seventh sub-race will energise this sense, so that Human Brotherhood will express itself through international organisations. In this race will the dream of the Manu of the Fifth Root Race be realised and real Socialism, energised by the sense of individual realisation of the divinity of man, nourished by the spiritual conceptions of man and organised by international associations, will become a living reality. The splendid educational experiments of the sixth sub-race will make this individual realisation possible, just as the machinery and applied sciences of today will lead to the cultural development of the coming race. Such indeed are the links between races, and efforts and experiences of one race are not lost with its disappearance. They are carried to the next race by the individuals who reincarnate in other races. And so human evolution proceeds in a continuous march.

Let us now briefly consider the Sixth and the Seventh Root Races, so that the discussion of one World-period will thus be over. We cannot go

into great details about these last two races. We will only see some salient features. It must be remembered that the Sixth Root Race will be at the level of Intuitional Consciousness. This Intuition will, during the seven sub-races and branch races, pass through its seven stages of sensation, activity, emotion, analytical mind, synthetic mind, cosmic sense and divine sense. The Sixth Root Race will be the stage of Pure Intuition and the traits of Intuition considered in the discussion of the sixth sub-race will be found in their true glory during this race. The key-note of the Sixth Root-Race civilisation will be **Equality**—not based on material prosperity but on spiritual conceptions of man. To be spiritual is to know one's equality with all. Equality is possible only when man looks from the standpoint of Archetypal vision, and not till then. Again this equality cannot be realised through social institutions but only through cultural and spiritual evolution. The French Revolution gave the cry of equality but failed to realise it, for an analytical mind nation can develop only separative individuality through political liberty. The Russian Revolution too is

striking the tune of equality, but even this must fail, for Synthetic Mind can only co-ordinate and hence can realise Fraternity between diverse individualities; Russian Revolution has undoubtedly sown the seeds of Fraternity. But it will be the privilege of human beings in the Sixth Root Race to realise the dream of Equality, -yes, but not uniformity; equality in essence, not in expressions. The main characteristics of this race will be: (1) an environment of spiritual influences made possible by the closer contact between humanity and the Guardians of Mankind, (2) an unflinching obedience to the behests of the Great Masters and thus engaging in the task of dispelling spiritual ignorance of the people, (3) an intense love and regard not only for human beings but also for sub-human kingdoms (animals will take their place in the hearts of humanity and there will thus be complete disappearance of flesh eating), (4) an Aristocratic Government-not in the sense of plutocratic but in the sense of spiritual aristocracy; a development of the science of human evolution-the hastening of human growth, even as the science of the growth of animals and

plants is perfected and will be still more so in the Aryan Race, (5) a sharing of economic goods according to the needs of each; an application of the Science of Human Evolution through Schools of Yoga, (6) a wonderful growth of fine arts, a keen sensitiveness to Beauty; rhythm, culture, nobility of behaviour—these to be the key-notes of spiritual teachings, and finally (7) real self-education through the objectivisation of spiritual powers. We have seen that synthetic mind can form conceptions regarding the flow of time. It can also apply this science of time in the growth of non-human entities because humanity is still absolute with this race. Biology, which is the science of time, must remain incomplete in the synthetic mind stage of humanity for it must exclude human beings from its realm of experimentation. This science of 'human time' must be left to the Sixth Root Race and hence we will find the completion of biology in this period. It means that biology will have to combine with anthropology which must have reached its perfection in the Fifth Root Race, just as natural science has combined with machinery and

applied sciences in the Aryan Race. The religion of this race must emphasise behaviour and creativeness of individuals, rather than philosophise over man, nature and reality. Spirituality, Dynamism, Universality, Noble Individuality, Relativity, Beauty and Creativeness are the main traits of this race and they will be found in all the institutions of that age. For a fuller grasp of the Sixth Root Race, the reader is referred to the book written by Bishop C. W. Leadbeater called 'The Beginnings of the Sixth Root Race.'

We will now come to the consideration of the Seventh and the last Root Race of our World-period. It will be after some thousands of years that this Race will come into existence. This Race will represent Will, the highest stage of human consciousness and what this Will shall mean through various sub-races and branch-races is rather difficult to tell. We at our level of Synthetic Mind can hardly imagine the splendour of Will energising the whole human civilisation. It is certain that it will express itself through all the seven stages of consciousness during the

life of the Seventh Root Race. Each sub-race will develop one expression of Will and this again through branch races. Will represents Perfection, Completeness, Mastery, Self-reliance. Tracing Will through its seven sub-levels, we find the characteristics of the Seventh Root Race in the following order: (1) a stability in self-reliance, (2) a self-initiated activity for the expression of inherent powers in man, (3) a feeling of Divine Love at the sight of everything, [4] an expression of self-disciplined Anarchy in political sphere, the absence of any legislation for the guidance of human conduct, (5) extreme flexibility of human organisations, being based on the Divinity of man and hence energised not by their aims and ideals but by the Will of man, organisations showing a co-ordination of human wills rather than merely their ideals, as we find today, (6) self-education under the guidance of spiritual beings and a most wonderful development of symbolic art and finally (7) an emergence of real Divine and Spiritual Kings on earth, every man realising his own Spiritual Kingship and this again finding culmination in a great Spiritual

Emperor, A Divine Royalty. Its civilisation will be based on Divinity, its chief task being the objectivisation of Divine Sense, and hence will perfect the science of psychology. No consciousness will be subjective to this Race, while it will have as its instruments Intuition, Synthetic Mind, Analytical Mind, Emotion, Activity and Perception. What wonderful mankind will arise in this race can be gauged from the powerful instruments at its command. In this age, Space and Time will have been completely analysed, while the conception of Causality will be in the process of analysis. Here man will know himself as one with the whole creation, nay even his unity with the Creator of the world will begin to be felt by him, so that he will realise himself as the Cause of all Creation. His consciousness will have expanded so much that he will find no difference or separateness between himself and the outer world. With man knowing his own spiritual kingship, will this World-period be over and humanity will prosecute its evolution further on some other Globe. This is the dream of Theosophy—dream born not out of uncontrolled

imagination but out of the knowledge of scientific laws underlying our Scheme of Evolution.

Here ends our discussion of Races and Sub-races. This discussion must have shown to the reader that there is indeed a wonderful Plan behind the rise and fall of civilisations, behind the emergence of races, behind all the confounding data about the characteristics of various civilisations. The Theory of Racial Evolution discussed in the foregoing pages reveals to our mind's eye a profoundly intelligent picture of the whole evolution of humanity through nations, and races and civilisations. There is no happening in history that is mysterious to it. There is no event that is accidental to it. And yet none may run away with the idea that this is nothing but fatalism, that man is only a pawn in the game of God, that man has simply to fold his hands while the evolution of humanity is proceeding. This is no fatalism, but an understanding of the conditions under which human activities can best be carried on. While this theory gives the limitations of each race, it also portrays the potentialities of each stage of

human evolution. This racial theory gives a course for human growth, the mastery of that course is for human beings to achieve. Just as an individual appearing at an examination if he knows the course in the beginning can finish it sooner than one who does not know, in the same way the knowledge of racial courses must mean that earnest students might finish them earlier. Having known the programmes for various races, the duty of social leaders and politicians as well as of teachers is to arrange such activities as would help the race to pass on to the next class of God's school as speedily as possible. To know the racial programme is to hasten human evolution. Again, we have seen that every race or nation, at whatever level of consciousness, passes through seven expressions of the same consciousness and so the task of leaders is to carry the nation or the race successively through all these expressions. Evolution means objectivisation. It must also be remembered that just as racial programmes show the potentialities of a race, so do they point out the limitations of these races. The leaders of society have to take this into consideration also so that they may

not demand from masses more than what their racial level allows. Leaders in history have demanded more things from masses than the latter could give under racial limitations and the results have been failures of numberless movements. To throw the blame of a failure on masses is surely not doing justice to them, failures are largely due to ignorance of leaders regarding racial programmes. And so we have noted that the knowledge of racial programmes, instead of making us fatalists, helps us to serve humanity much more wisely and sets before us, both positive as well as negative limits. Both these limits are necessary for those who want to be leaders and hence this racial theory is not of mere academic interest but of great practical value for work in all departments of human activities. These racial programmes give us the knowledge of the conditions under which to carry on activities and to say that this knowledge drives man to fatalism is to declare all wise action fatalistic.

In the foregoing pages we have tried to discuss racial psychologies mainly with regard

to political activities, and that too very briefly. They can be worked out to minutest details with regard to nation's political and economic lives. But let it not be understood that they can be applied only to these spheres. These psychological levels can be gauged from a large number of things. In languages of nations, in their vocabularies, in their syntax can be seen the working of this psychological theory. The position of verbs in sentences, the tenses and moods that are used, the existence of numberless words expressing the same meaning, the actual structure of sentences, all these can be looked at from the light of this theory and from that, levels of nations and races can be judged. Philologists of the world might consider this and start their investigations in this direction. In literatures of nations also this can be seen. Even the level psychologies of writers can be measured from their styles, their images, their themes. Literary critics, if they can understand this psychology, might do their criticisms with greater justice to the writer, to the nation for which the literature is written and to the character of the

book. In religions too, we can see this evolution, as also in theologies, mysticisms and rituals. Every nation adopts a religion appropriate to its own growth. In religions, we find a special element, particularly in its taboos and its esotericism, showing subjective pressure of consciousness. The purpose of every religion is to take humanity to a higher mode of living and hence all religious teachers have given such teachings as contained subjective elements, while at the same time they appealed to the absolute elements of the race. The study of religions ought to be carried on from this new angle. People have discussed similarities of religions, they must now consider the uniqueness of each religion and that can be shown only by this racial and evolutionary theory. Ethics of a nation too are not accidental, they follow the same law as mentioned above. Those who have studied ethical codes of different nations have found that they differ from nation to nation and very largely from race to race. A nation or an individual at the analytical mind level will evolve ethics of conscience for, the interest of life is centred in individual development and

not in social good. In various arts also we find the working of this cyclic law of psychological growth. Why does a particular form of art become popular at particular times is a question which only this theory can explain. If epics written in these days are not as grand as those of the olden times, it is because we have passed through the activity level. The great popularity of problematic plays and novels in our age is particularly due to the synthetic mind level of the Aryan Consciousness. In philosophy also, one may perceive the evolution of level psychologies. Kant's philosophy is clearly of the Synthetic Mind, while that of Aristotle and Descartes of the lower mind. The Six Schools of Indian philosophy represent six levels of consciousness from activity to will, the level of perception is not able to evolve its own philosophy being still tied down to images, and their utterances being subjective. In sciences also we can perceive this evolution. Sciences appropriate to the conception of life at each level comes into being and the history of sciences ought to be traced from that standpoint. Chemical recipes, astrology, sciences of nature and of space, sciences of vegetable

and animal time and applied sciences, sciences of human time—this is the sequence of scientific growth. Development of political institutions we have noticed—theocracy, feudalism, monarchy, plutocracy, democracy, aristocracy and anarchy. Evolution of economic organisations also proceeds thus—the village economy, the feudal economy, the guild economy, the capitalist economy, the socialist economy, the communist economy and the anarchist economy. In marriage institutions also we can trace this evolution. Conceptions with regard to the status of women are changing with the change in the level of human consciousness. In social institutions too, one can show this evolution. In Symbology and Mythology of races and nations we can see the same law of growth. We are too apt to disregard these two spheres of human interest. The intellectuals of all nations have considered these as meaningless. But it is not so. In the Myths of nations is contained the whole curriculum for those nations, but this is visible only to those who can interpret them. We have seen before that there are in all races Mystery Schools and the purpose of these schools is

to train advanced souls in advanced courses for evolution. These advanced courses are not for common masses, they can never understand them. And so Initiates have given these teachings to people in myths and symbols. More and more as people objectivise their inherent powers, more and more can they understand the hidden meanings of myths and symbols. In Pedagogy also one can trace this law. Different systems of education prevalent in different countries are due to their psychological levels. The Ashrama type of education given in ancient India was due to the fact that people on sensation levels can always grasp principles of life only in good atmosphere and under the proximity of their teachers. Modern educational reformers in India should introduce Ashrama type of education on a higher level and suitable under modern conditions, if they want to arouse the real genius of India. In Criminology too and in the psychologies of the insane same principles can be seen to exist. Persons interested in criminal reform and in prison work ought to understand the working of this law in these fields so that they might add

wisdom to their already very noble and charitable work. The unconscious of the insane is also depicting the same working of this psychological law and hence psychologists might well study this theory before they start curing the insane. In the biographies of great personages is also reflected this law. Dr. Besant passing from Church to Free thinking and from this to Socialism and from thence to Theosophy and Yoga shows the swift working of this law. Some have called Dr. Besant very unstable—really speaking she could rise to higher levels of consciousness so very rapidly that common people could not understand her everchanging colours. Her seeming unstableness was her real greatness. The same psychological law can be seen in the lives of all great personages. Again, the emergence of these great men is also in consonance with racial and national development. In the temperaments and rays of people also this law works with its levels and sub-levels. It is said that even vegetable and animal evolution follows the same septenary principle. It seems the whole universe is running along this principle of Seven. In every field of

human interest this law is seen and from the above discussions it will be plain that there is a Plan in the universe which follows specific laws. Life is indeed organic and levels of consciousness are reflected in all the spheres of human life. Nowhere is there an element of chance. The process of objectivisation is proceeding through all the departments of mankind. The whole civilisation is thus a superstructure on the levels of consciousness and only as we understand the nature and the qualities of various phases of consciousness can we unravel the mystery of civilisations. The problems that occur in society from time to time also follow this rule and even from the study of these problems can we find out psychological levels of nations and propose remedies appropriate to them. As noted above, the illustrious group of Prof. Marcault has been carrying on researches in various departments in order to show the working of this law. The transactions published by this group are on Geology, Symbology, Mythology, Archaeology, Healing, Chemistry, Science and the Web of the Universe. Those interested in these subjects might look into these transac-

tions. The reader is also requested to see the book to be published shortly by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. The name of the book is 'Where Theosophy and Science Meet' and will be edited by Prof. D. D. Kanga, the ex-Professor of Chemistry in the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad. This book will deal with 34 sciences in four sections and will not only show a correctness of Theosophical assertions in the light of modern science, but will also show the Plan in each science. I might also refer the reader to the shortly to-be-published book on 'Studies in Level Psychology,' written by Bro. Bhupatray Mehta and myself. His grasp of Marcault's principles is very profound and so the coming book under his collaboration and guidance will be very enlightening to the readers interested in Marcault's theories of evolution. And so, we leave the reader here, after very briefly showing to him the existence of the psychological laws of evolution in various fields of human activities.

Some might contend, how is it possible to know that all these races have appeared on

earth? What is the scientific data before us to make the statements we have done in the foregoing pages? It is true that modern sociologists have come only to recognise the three main races of humanity. But the blood-tests now being carried on by biologists must reveal to them many racial types. Through these tests they are bound to find out admixtures in races and the roots of different migrations of peoples. Modern sociology is coming to this but till it is proved, our strength is derived from occult sources investigated by Theosophical Occult Scientists. And it must be stated for the information of our readers that many of the Theosophical investigations, at first ridiculed by intellectuals and scientists, have found corroborations from the discoveries of modern western science itself. The explanation of racial evolution given by Theosophical writers, and more particularly by Prof Marcault, is really most intelligible, and unless a better theory is produced, one might accept it as a workable hypothesis. We expect nothing more than this from our non-theosophical friends who cannot pin their faith in Occult investigations.

We do not propose to go into the discussion of questions placed at the beginning of this section. Quite a large number of these questions have been replied to during the discussion of various races. We request our readers to apply, for themselves, the principles of evolutionary psychology to those questions and to many others that might be naturally arising in their minds. This application will provide the necessary replies, we are quite sure as to that. We shall feel quite satisfied if this discussion throws a new light on the problem of civilisations and history. If we have been able to induce them to believe that there does exist another side to this question than the one they are perceiving and that this side is really worth taking into serious consideration, we will feel quite delighted. We do not claim to have mastered the theories of Prof. Marcault. The defects in the above arguments are evidently ours. We only wish our readers turn to the original writings of Prof. Marcault to fully understand the problem of civilisations.

A word regarding the practical value of these theories. To know the psychology of

propaganda is absolutely essential for those who are leaders of movements and have to deal with large masses. The above theories throw great light on the problems of propaganda. They are of immense help to journalists and international lecturers. Theosophical leaders have shown intuitive understanding of national psychologies, leaders like Dr. Besant, Mr. C. Jinarajadasa and Dr. Arundale. Dr. Besant's intuitive grasp was so astonishing that she appealed to Germany, England, America and India in diverse ways. Theosophical workers have to understand this even while dealing with members of a single lodge, for these members must have their own levels and Theosophy must be presented to them in such a way as would appeal to their levels. Dr. Arundale's demand that Theosophical Text books should be written for different ages clearly reflects this need for understanding individual psychologies. Sections of the Theosophical Society exist in different countries to help their nationals to speedily objectivise their levels of consciousness through its seven successive phases. Theosophical workers must think out this problem in the light of national and racial levels. One does

see the working of this law of psychological development even in the growth of the Theosophical Movement. This must be so in every movement but we will take the Theosophical Society as an illustration. Madame Blavatsky evidently gave stability to this movement and her 'Secret Doctrine' remains the foundation of the whole Theosophical structure of later years. Col. Olcott took the Theosophical Society through its activity stage with the able assistance of Dr. Besant. Dr. Besant when she became the President of the Theosophical Society raised the Theosophical movement to its emotional level. During this phase, the marvellous personality of Dr. Besant did wonders. The rank and file of this movement showed singular loyalty to her and the Theosophical Society reached a splendid height. Dr. Arundale's mission is summed up in his watchwords: Freedom and Friendship. Individual freedom within the general object of Brotherhood, for which the Theosophical Society stands, is the present phase of this great international movement. The great impetus given to scientific corroborations of Theosophy is also a reflection of this stage.

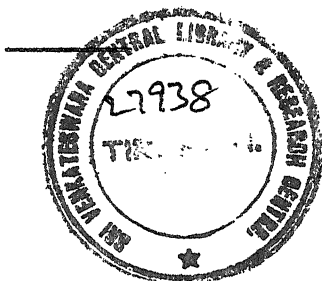
Theosophical workers must understand this phase and offer not merely their devotions but also their efficiencies. Just as Dr. Besant gave much to Theosophy, but during her time the emotional aspect was emphasised, not due to any limitations in Dr. Besant but due to the limitations of members in her time to respond to Theosophy, in the same way Dr. Arundale possesses many things, he is an educationist of a very rare order, he is a superb organiser, he is a great religionist, but it seems to us that during his regime individuality will be greatly emphasised. Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, one might say an all-rounder in Theosophy, a teacher, a scholar, an organiser, a spiritual priest an artist, a staunch religionist, a fine speaker, all these he is, but his greatest influence in the Theosophical Movement is through his exquisite synthesis, his wonderful idealism, his great expositions of the Theosophical philosophy. Shrimati Rukmini Devi, it seems to us, is representing the Intuitive level of the Theosophical movement today with her charming music and most wonderful dancing. We have given these illustrations only in order to show that every great movement

passes through its various stages of consciousness and social workers have to take this into consideration also while dealing with their movements.

We end this section here, having noted the process of psychological evolution in individuals, in races, in nations, in various departments of human activities, as also in great movements like the Theosophical Society. We only hope Theosophy will find its rightful place in the hearts and minds of our readers so that it might influence their lives and lead them to the great summits of joy and happiness which one must find through the realisation of his spiritual nature. Theosophy, we maintain, is what the world needs and till the world accepts it, life will remain a mystery to human beings. Theosophy is the Light-Bringer and those who seek earnestly the Light will evidently find it ere long.

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Some Theosophical Books.

1. The Pedigree of Man—Annie Besant.
2. Man; Whence How and Whither—Annie Besant and C. W. Leadbeater.
3. The Beginnings of the Sixth Root Race—C. W. Leadbeater,
4. Brahmavidya—Annie Besant.
5. The Great plan—Annie Besant.
6. The Solar System—A. E. Powell.
7. The Lives of Alcyone, Vols. I & II—C. W. Leadbeater.
8. The Earth and its Cycles—Miss. Preston.
9. Studies in Evolutionary Psychology—Preston and Trew.
- 10 The Bridge of the Gods—Edith Pinchin.
11. Indications of a New Culture—G. A. Gardener.
12. Corroborations of Occult Archaeology—G. N. Drinkwater.